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NEW MASSES

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INVASION DIARY

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A VIEW OF SOVIET WAR AIMS

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AMERICA'S "BEVERIDGE PLAN"

by THE EDITORS

Congressman Celler: "Neither Adolf nor Otto."

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AMERICA'S "BEVERIDGE PLAN"

By the Editors

IN THE foxholes of Guadalcanal, in the uplands of Tunisia, during the lulls in the fighting, what do Americans think of? First of all, they think of defeating the enemy, utterly destroying the Axis and all it stands for. But they also think of home and family and the small things of life; they think of peace and the days that will come when it's all over. And there is an unquiet in their hearts as they think of the future. In the factories and offices and on the farms of America men and women, straining to produce the goods for victory, are thinking too. Will there be a job for me when the war's over? Will my family get enough to live on? Will a new depression knock hell out of everything and put us back in the Hoover days?

The National Resources Planning Board has just told the country: let's start giving the answers now. Let's start planning now so that after the war every American will be guaranteed the right to work, the right to decent pay, to adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care, to security against old age, unemployment, disability, to the liberties and opportunities that should be the heritage of every American.

IT SO happens that the two monumental reports of the National Resources Planning Board were issued during the week that the National Conference for Social Work was holding its regional meeting in New York. That conference was a reminder that the Board's recommendations concern not merely tomorrow but today, that we shall not grapple constructively with the problems of postwar social security unless we take steps now to meet those problems that are immediate and directly affect the prosecution of the war.

In his message at the opening of Congress President Roosevelt indicated the scope of the government's objectives when he said that the young men and women of the country want the right to work and "assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards—assurance that will extend from the cradle to the grave. And this great government can and must provide this assurance." The NRPB reports seek to implement this perspective. Detailed discussion of them will have to await further study, but certain things can be said by way of preliminary comment. The reports propose to extend an old principle and establish a new one: to extend government responsibility for social security and relief, and to establish government responsibility for assuring jobs at decent wages and for directing the economy after the war in order to maintain a high level of production and employment. This has been assailed variously in Congress and in the press as "socialism" and "fascism." It couldn't be both; it happens to be neither. It is merely proposed that the trend toward state capitalism, which has occurred as a war necessity, be continued with certain modifications as a peace necessity in order to avert a postwar boom and depression.

The recommendations on social security follow along expected lines. They cover four main categories: social insurance, federal relief, programs for youth, and public social services. The NRPB proposes that the coverage of the unemployment and old age insurance systems be extended and the benefits increased, and that disability insurance be added. The federal relief program is to be based on the principle of "government provision of work for all adults who are willing and able to work if private industry is unable to provide employment." In addition, there is to be a comprehensive public assistance program, with federal grants-in-aid to states on the basis of their need and economic capacity.

What is most striking in the programs of youth is the proposal that the federal government provide financial assistance "to assure educational opportunities for all young people above the age of compulsory school attendance who desire and can benefit by continued schooling." In other words, the country is entitled to the benefit of the brains of the poor as well as the rich. The most important new recommendation regarding public social services is that the federal government take steps to provide adequate medical care "for the millions of our people whose need cannot be fully met from their own resources." In addition, it is proposed that the federal government provide free lunches for all school children, assist in expanding state and local child welfare services, and make surplus commodities under the stamp plan available not only to those on relief but to all low-income groups.

WHILE the social security report deals with the effects of the dislocations in our economic system, the report on postwar planning seeks to prevent or mitigate the dislocations themselves. Needless to say, the report does not touch on the fundamental cause of poverty and insecurity in the modern world, the capitalist system. On the contrary, the NRPB assumes the desirability of capitalism and merely advocates reforms which it believes will strengthen it. NEW MASSES believes that the attainment of full peacetime production and employment and the guarantee of freedom from want will require far more basic social changes than the NRPB projects, but that is a debate which can be postponed for less critical days. However one may differ about this or that detail of the board's proposals, they are rooted in objectives on which all who want to build a saner world can cooperate.

There remains the most important question of all: what is the relation of these reports to the war itself? Obviously they help define our war aims, give bone and muscle to the Century of the Common Man. But in considering these proposals we must never lose sight of the fact that the foundation of all social security and postwar planning is the total defeat of the Axis powers. The NRPB program will be of greatest value to morale and to the solution of future problems if the discussion of these two historic reports—a discussion which President Roosevelt has asked Congress to undertake in the present session—*centers about those recommendations which, if acted on, would add immediate strength to the war effort.* For example, the provision of adequate medical care and the expansion of child welfare services are necessary now in order to bring millions of women into industry and increase production. And the extension of social insurance might well be made part of any new tax.

WE HOPE the President will not leave matters to the whim of the Rankins and Byrds, but will fight for such a program, as he hinted he would in his opening message. And the board itself recognizes the need of the people to participate in the battle for social security. "The full employment of our national resources of men and machines is a problem in which the cooperation of federal and non-federal agencies, of the home, the neighborhood, the church, the social agencies, and the associations of innumerable types, of industry and agriculture, of labor and management, is indispensable, and will continue to be." We might add that on organized labor falls a particular responsibility for initiative and leadership. Both President Murray of the CIO and President Green of the AFL have endorsed the NRPB reports and called for legislative action. Clearly this is one way, an important way, of getting on with the war and of fashioning a peace that will not disappoint the hopes of the plain people of America and the world.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

. . . De La Patrie

TRAGIC and heartbreaking are the urgent appeals for military help from our underground allies in metropolitan France. They are showing the fiercest resistance to the Nazi hunt for manpower. But each day finds the invaders pressing their campaign of extermination against all who will not be corralled into Berlin's factories and are, therefore, a constant menace to the German rear. *Allied Labor News* reports that voluntary recruiting has failed and that now Laval is simply kidnapping men from the streets to fill the 400,000 quota which he has promised Hitler. The underground unions fight the draft with strikes and sabotage. Since December more than 500 German officers and men have been struck down by guerrillas. So well organized has the partisan movement become that its high command is beginning to issue formal communiques which quickly find their way across the Channel for publication in London. A central authority "somewhere in France" directs such operations as the one carried through at Chagny where the rails under a speeding German troop train were blasted with a toll of at least 250 of the uniformed *herrenvolk*. How fruitless have been the attempts to conscript French labor was apparent at a recent Paris conference of the Laval-blessed group called *Atelier*. The latter had organized the Tricolor Legion to fight the Russians on the Eastern Front. And while the delegates to the meeting were hand-picked, several of them, nevertheless, put forward a resolution that the "Soviet Union is the fatherland of socialism and that National Socialism is anti-social."

Unity of all the anti-Hitler-Petain forces is also moving at a rapid pace. The Socialist Party at its first national congress since the fall of France—a congress held secretly in the former Vichy zone and attended by nearly 100 representatives—has placed itself under the leadership of de Gaulle. It passed a resolution calling on all Frenchmen "regardless of rank, opinion, or social condition" to oppose the enemy. Radio France reports that thirteen underground organizations, including the Communist Party, have signed a joint declaration urging maximum unity against the forced labor plans and asking Generals de Gaulle and Giraud to establish a single leadership of all the anti-Hitler groups.

"... And, Mr. Speaker, I charge that 'Pravda' has failed to print any of Mr. Hoover's speeches."

But so serious is the internal French scene that last week a Fighting French spokesman insisted that only an immediate second front could stop the annihilation of France's youth. The food situation is worse than ever with infant mortality showing headlong increases and the majority of children threatened with tuberculosis. In reply to these appeals certain magnanimous personalities in our State Department are doing all they can—that is, all they can to break the hearts of the thousands of men and women who fight and pray for the day of liberation from the Vichy-Nazi plague. Recently the Department released all but twelve Vichyites who were interned at Hershey, Pa., after the captive French government had severed relations with the United States. In their place French sailors eager to scrap with the enemy were rounded up in New York and incarcerated on Ellis Island. Psychiatrists in time to come will undoubtedly find a name for this type of insanity. In the meanwhile it can be called the dementia of expediency.

TO BE welcomed as a step in a forward direction is General Giraud's speech at Algiers promising the Jews that they will be emancipated from Vichy anti-Semitism, that the French people will have an opportunity to restore the Republic once Hitler is eliminated, and that all laws promulgated by Vichy after June 1940 are null and void. Giraud's speech came the day after unity proposals were made public by the Fighting French and both documents agree on sev-

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eral points. This is all to the good, for it opens the door wider for closer relations. The de Gaulle forces, however, insist on the need for incorporating French North and West Africa into the Fighting French National Committee. They also demand the immediate dismissal of all French officials in Allied-held territory who have collaborated with the enemy and were responsible for France's capitulation to Hitler. In addition to the nebulous character of some of his pledges, this latter is still Giraud's greatest weakness. Nogues and Peyrouton retain their high posts. Nor has fresh progress been made in releasing the remaining anti-fascists lingering in North African prisons; nor has anything of practical value been done to mobilize the native population, particularly the Moslems, behind the war. More wholesale and drastic changes must be made before North Africa can be counted on as a reliable base.

And Now Knox

ANOTHER high Navy man has, "without prior consultation" with the government, been muddying the waters of international relations. We refer to Secretary of the Navy Knox. And here, as in the case of Admiral Standley, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles has had to jump in and apply first aid after an unofficial needling exhibition by a supposedly responsible American official. Secretary Knox has recently made no less than three speeches sounding a theme that has given our British, Chinese, Latin American, and other allies the chills. At a time when the U-boats are knocking over our ships with lethal efficiency and this country has still not thrown its full weight against the Axis, Knox has had the happy thought that the United States should start negotiations at once to secure permanent postwar control of bases in the Pacific and other parts of the world. In his annual report to the President, Knox projected a naval building program to enable the United States single-handed to achieve superiority at all times in any area of the globe. All of which sounds like something Henry and Clare Luce dreamed up.

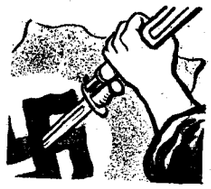
SUCH talk, coming after the North African finagling, is hardly calculated to inspire confidence among our allies.

Strangely enough, the other members of the United Nations are not very keen about spilling their blood and enduring all kinds of sacrifices for the purpose of making the United States boss of the world. The Nazis found Knox' speeches just what Dr. Goebbels ordered; they began spreading tales in the Latin American countries that the United States intends to retain permanent possession of military bases established there as part of the Western Hemisphere war effort.

Whereupon Sumner Welles found it necessary twice within three days to make clear where this government stands. In his first statement he declared that agreements with Latin American countries for the use of bases cover the war period only. His second statement dealt specifically with the Pacific bases about which Knox had spoken with such fond possessiveness. According to the New York *Times*, Welles "believed emphasis should be placed upon the means of attaining international security so that the Pacific might be as safe for all law-abiding and peaceful nations interested there as for the United States." He disclaimed any desire to convert the Pacific into an American lake and pointed out that the question of security in the Pacific was one that "all the United Nations would want to discuss."

That sounds more like the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations pact.

Cuba Libre



IN AN editorial two weeks ago we reported the attempt of a great Argentinian anti-fascist, Ghioldi, to telephone another anti-fascist leader in Cuba concerning the latest move of Hitler's friend, the Castillo government. That other leader was Juan Marinello, chairman of the Union Revolutionary Communist Party of Cuba and author of the introduction to the Spanish language edition of Earl Browder's *Victory—and After*.

Juan Marinello is today a member of Cuba's war cabinet. To strengthen the pro-war forces in Cuba and isolate the defeatist opposition, President Fulgencio Batista has broadened his cabinet to include a leading Communist and two representatives of the ABC—the latter a group heretofore unwilling to support political unity in a win-the-war program. The Liberal Party and the Democrats (conservative) hold the remaining positions in a cabinet numbering seventeen. Only the Autenticos, formally known as the Peoples Revolutionary Party, remain outside the new cabinet.

Those who have followed the difficult course of Cuban politics since that country's declaration of war against the Axis in December 1941 recognize the importance of this development. Cuba entered the war with a government ill suited to meet the demands for a 100 percent war effort. It was unable to inspire confidence in the masses, and was increasingly out of line with the vast majority's desire to see fascism cleaned out abroad and in Cuba itself. Corrupt bureaucrats held a number of key government posts, and others, identified directly with the Falange, retained positions of political and commercial importance. Last July President Batista vigorously tried to widen the base of his pro-war administration by calling upon all political groups to help him form a national coalition government. However, only those parties which had been responsible for his election to the presidency—the Liberals, Democrats, and Communists—answered this call.

THROUGHOUT the war crisis the principal opposition has come from the Autenticos, whose leader, Grau San Martin, was President of Cuba shortly after the Machado dictatorship was overthrown. Liberal elements in his administration were responsible for certain progressive legislation for which the wily Grau attempted to claim sole credit. A coalition of progressive elements, including sections of the labor and farm movements, remained together under his titular leadership and for a while constituted Cuba's largest political party. Grau's pseudo-liberal demagogy, at first predominantly opportunistic, today clearly oppositionist, brought about a widening gap between the party's leadership and its mass following. In the 1942 elections the party lost almost a third of its previous vote. During recent months its influence has further declined as its sincere constituents, including the overwhelming majority of its labor and peasant following, have abandoned it to join other groups, particularly the Liberals and Communists. Grau San Martin's oppositionist policy has led more and more to identification with defeatists and fifth columnists. President Batista's new cabinet means the isolation of the greatly weakened Autenticos as well as a stronger coalition of pro-war elements, including Communists and conservatives. The inclusion of Juan Marinello assures the direct participation of Cuba's most advanced labor and farm groups in the effort to achieve maximum unity against fascism.

. . . And Puerto Rico

CUBA's Caribbean neighbor, Puerto Rico, has not yet attained independence; but there too, under the impetus of war the people have achieved a greater unity than ever. Following the Legislature's unanimous resolution petitioning the American government for the right of self-determination, the Puerto Rican Senate backed a resolution to support Governor Tugwell's administration. The resolution, in the name of the Puerto Rican

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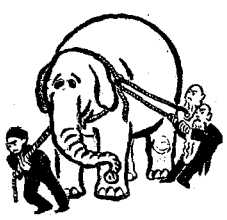
electorate, declared full responsibility for the progressive legislation of the last two years. Plans are also under way to send a committee to Washington to ask for an early and favorable response on the issue of self-determination.

In Washington the President has seized the initiative from the Vandenbergs and Crawfords by recommending to Congress "that it consider as soon as possible an amendment to the organic law of Puerto Rico to permit the people of Puerto Rico to elect their own governor and to redefine the functions and powers of the federal government and the government of Puerto Rico respectively." True, this recommendation constitutes but a partway measure toward applying the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the people of Puerto Rico. However, it breaks the stalemate which resulted from the administration's previous failure to speak out vigorously against those who sought to exploit the Island's misery in order to confuse the war effort.

Two things are now required from the American people. They must first voice energetic support for whatever bills serve to forward the President's recommendations. At the same time they must combat those reactionary members of the Senate and of the House who will undoubtedly continue their disruptive tactics. It is likely that the latter will attempt, among other demagogic tricks, to confound Puerto Rican as well as American public opinion by calling for the kind of independence which would completely isolate Puerto Rico from the fraternity of nations. Faced with a destiny which denied the international safeguards required for healthy growth, the new-found unity in Puerto Rico would give way to an upsurge of confusion.

The American people have another task besides supporting the President's proposals and curbing the defeatists: they must urge a whole rather than a partial answer to the national aspirations of the Puerto Ricans. Not only must there be approval of such reforms as the election of the governor and the modification of Congress' present veto power over Island legislation; the unconditional right of self-determination must be recognized promptly and carried into effect at the earliest opportunity consistent with the war effort.

Old and New Guard



THE more sharply the split within the Republican Party is emphasized by Republican leaders, the better for the nation. All the more instructive, therefore, were the divergent views expressed last week by two Republican governors from two key states. Both men have

The Iron Is Hot

SO ADMIRAL STANDLEY took his task force to Moscow and after shelling the wrong target discovered also that he was obeying the wrong orders. It will take a little time to uncover exactly who inspired this fiasco. In any event the bluffing sea dog performed a unique service by unwittingly revealing how deep is the affection of Americans for the Soviet people. No one can doubt that the popular reaction—minus, of course, the usual dishonorable exceptions—to Standley's bluster was one of prompt resentment. For had there not been a feeling of nationwide shock and chagrin, Mr. Welles would have been unable to repudiate the Standley statements with such complete firmness. The sad thing about this whole nasty affair is that it may happen again in some other shape and form. When policies are far from clear, when they contradict one another to the point where the bad often cancels out the good, they become the ammunition of every crank and defeatist. In the absence of a more complete understanding between Moscow and Washington, as is exemplified in the twenty-year British-Soviet pact, every cross-wind shakes our foreign relations and only an aroused public opinion can save us from repeating the most catastrophic of blunders.

Any mind except that engulfed by irrational prejudices knows that the Soviet Union has meticulously fulfilled its part in the anti-Hitler coalition. Can we claim the same for ourselves? If we cannot—and the absence of a second front is proof that we have not—then the responsibility for strengthening our ties with the Russians rests mainly on our shoulders. It also rests with us because events of the past weeks are certain to arouse the gravest suspicions among our other allies. We should hardly be surprised if the British and the Russians ask "What's cooking?" after they read the remarks of a member of the cabinet who delights in planning a jingoistic America which would ignore the necessity for collective endeavor in the postwar world; or the imperialist fantasies expressed in the Lucean doctrine of American world domination. Our allies hear the hysterical mumblings of a fascist-minded William Bullitt who would resurrect the ghost of another Munich and they wonder how an official of the Navy Department is permitted to make such speeches. The Red Army must look askance at those who shroud in mystery the simple definition of a second front. The underground fighters of Europe must be flabbergasted at the coddling of a Kaiser Otto, a Tibor Eckhardt, a Count Bethlen, and the genuflections before a Franco. And it must in consequence seem to all our hard-fighting friends abroad, from Norway to the Italian boot to North Africa, that the age of the double-cross is not yet over.

We shall have no one but ourselves to blame if these treacherous inconsistencies of policy cost the lives of thousands of American soldiers. For those inconsistencies delay the day of final military reckoning and provide Hitler with the precious time he needs to strengthen his European fortress. Thus far Hitler has been able to take the fullest advantage of our waverings and hesitations. He has moved over twenty divisions from the west to the Donetz, to retake Kharkov, in the belief that a second front will not be opened immediately—in the belief that his friends in and out of the American Congress can successfully obstruct any decisive moves on the coast of France. Common sense dictates that our course of action be one which will quickly disillusion the Nazi strategists. On the plane of international diplomacy it must heed the warning given by Vice-President Wallace that only the utmost cooperation among the Allies based on their mutual interests can prevent betrayals. Anthony Eden's visit in Washington can do much to clear the air of those poisonous fumes turned on by the appeasers and isolationists and directed at the British as well as the other members of the coalition.

What matters immediately, then, is a vigilant, articulate public opinion, especially on the part of labor, which will cut from under the forces that create the stresses and strains between us and our allies. Backed by the strength of an aroused people—expressed through meetings, resolutions, petitions, delegations—the President's second front commitments can immediately come to life. The issue was never plainer: either we strike now while the iron is hot or we shall find it branding our backs with the swastika.

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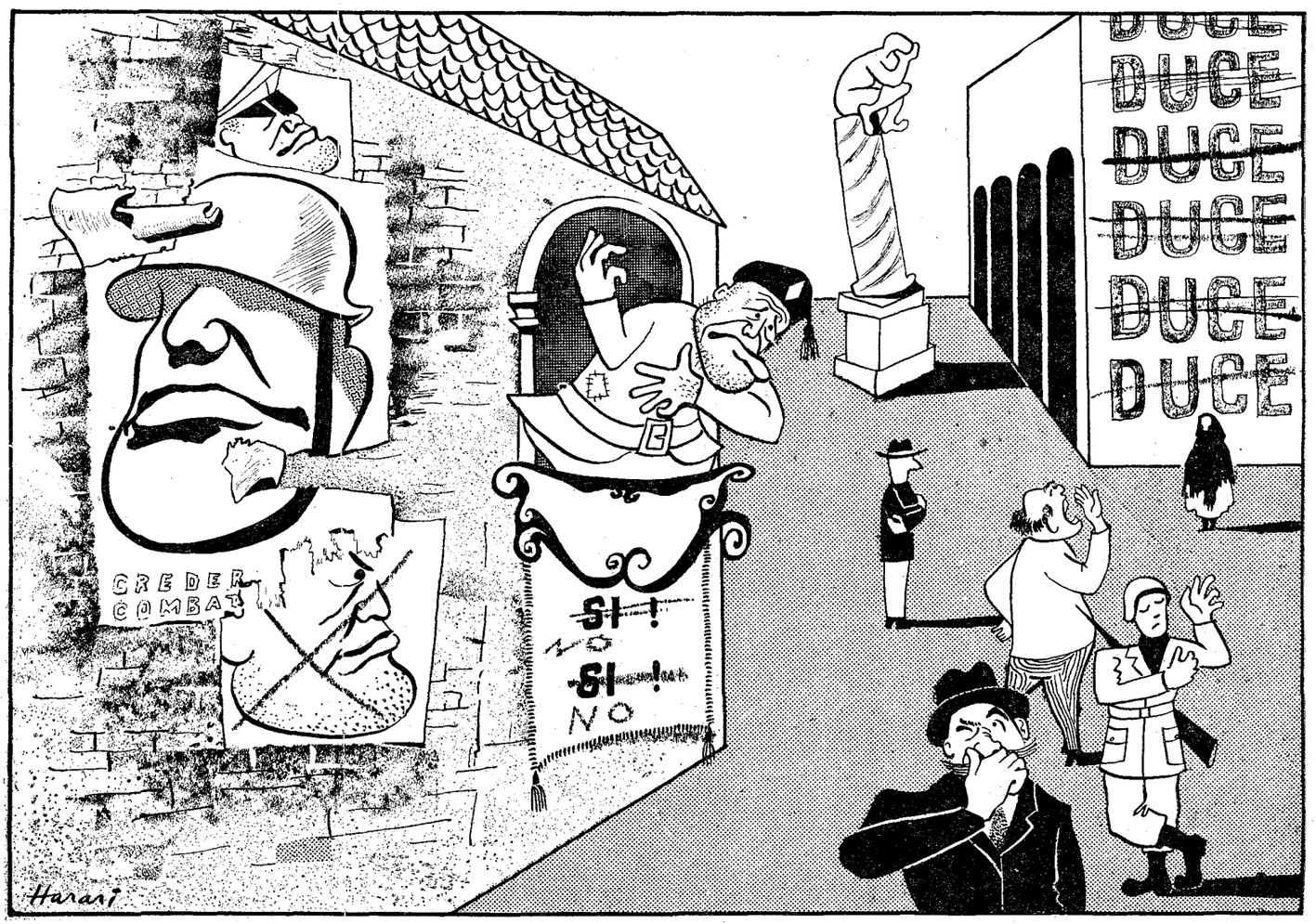


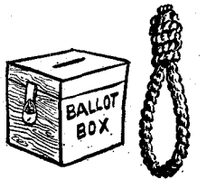
"The fuehrer has given me his solemn word that he will not send you to the Eastern Front."

1944 presidential aspirations. Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, of the Willkie win-the-war section of the party, insisted that this country must embrace a world outlook after the war. His seven-point program, whatever differences may arise about any of Stassen's specific proposals, repudiates the isolationist and American Century arrogance of the Luce-Martin alliance in Congress. Governor Stassen talks in terms of a strengthened United Nations continuing to expand and deepen its content in the postwar period. More important, his proposals for the future are intimately linked to the understanding that now the first order of business must be the winning of a "quick, decisive victory." The governor stressed renewal of lend-lease, extension of reciprocal trade treaties, the impossibility of ignoring the peoples of other continents. "The search," he said, "must be carried on for the means and methods by which the peoples of the world will establish and maintain an orderly method of living together in the light of modern facts."

All this is anathema to the ultra-imperialist and often fascist-minded Republicans who support the Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg junta in the party. These defeatists have been grooming their own dark horse. Governor Bricker of Ohio, Senator Taft's gift to reaction, has finally begun to pontificate on international affairs, a subject he has avoided like the plague up to now. Like Harding before him, who was both for and against the World Court, the handsome Bricker is all for building "a better society throughout the world"—but the blueprints come straight from the drafting rooms of the NAM. Bricker's idealism is the wordy variety, the old all-things-to-all-men eclecticism of the machine politician, with every breath by courtesy of the New Ohio gang. Not surprisingly, Bricker's rhetorical passion takes on its only note of sincerity when he attacks the New Deal. His anger against New Deal policies seems particularly intemperate whenever these policies are designed to achieve victory. His noble generalities on postwar "cooperation" (the bumbling Harding was also devoted to "cooperation") are obscured by his passion for what he designated as "state rights." The governor's good and true friends, Taft and Hoover, have the knack of linking state rights and negotiated peace, "free enterprise" and hatred of the United Nations. Bricker just doesn't believe the main fight is against the fascist enemy and not against the President.

The patrons of the banal and empty Bricker possess great power in the Republican political machines in far too many states. Rank and file Republicans, looking to the Willkies and Stassens, have a struggle on their hands to wrench party control from the nation's enemies. The split among the Republicans cannot be dismissed merely as a factional struggle for power. Like the fight within Democratic ranks, the stakes are crucial to the nation's health—the outcome will help decide whether the United States emerges from the war with a negotiated peace or with national security, with fascism or democracy at home.

The Fight Broadens



No more heartening instance of unity has occurred throughout the war period than the broad support given to the recent conference in Washington held by the National Commit-

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tee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Labor—CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and AFL alike—was joined by such mass organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the YWCA, church federations, and associations for the protection of civil rights to press the drive for repeal of poll tax laws still in force in seven states. To this popular movement was added the important bi-partisan coalition within Congress itself behind H.R. 7, introduced by Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York. As we go to press, the petition to bring the coalition's anti-poll tax bill out of committee has already gathered fifty signatures, approximately one-fourth of the members needed.

The unity within and without Congress is the key to passage of anti-poll tax legislation. Now, success depends on how energetic is the campaign throughout the country in support of the congressmen already pledged to the fight—the Republicans Bender and Baldwin, the Democrats Magnuson, Dawson, Gavagan, and Scanlon, the lone ALP representative, Marcantonio.

Particularly unfortunate at this moment of advance is Senator Pepper's decision not to reintroduce his repeal measure in the Senate. No doubt Pepper has been subjected to threats from southern colleagues; in addition, certain administration spokesmen seek again to appease the poll taxers by stepping on the soft pedal. But to those who illogically and noisily wail about repeal creating "disunity," Marcantonio has answered: Disunity is created when the people, who do the fighting and the sacrificing in the war, are deprived of their fundamental rights. The war effort cannot conceivably be strengthened by depriving ten million Negro and white citizens of the franchise. "The best demonstration of our sincerity to extend democracy all over the

(*Continued on page 8*)

GUEST EDITORIAL

by Rep. Emanuel Celler

NEITHER ADOLF NOR OTTO

OTTO VON HAPSBURG is in this country on a Belgian passport. He has prowled around the United States and Canada together with his mother, the Empress Zita, and for some time his full purposes had remained more or less undisclosed. We have now smoked them out and we know where they stand.

They deliberately seek the reestablishment of the Austro-Hungary empire, and this pretender, Otto, seeks to return to the throne of his father as emperor. This young man's father, the husband of the Empress Zita, was ousted from Austria by a decree which has not been repealed. Most of Otto's life has been spent outside of Austria. He knows practically nothing about his native country.

Thus, ostracized from Austria, he has been a refugee. America has given him asylum. He abuses that privilege by attempting to put over a *coup* which will restore his family feudal line in Vienna as the capital of a Danubian Federation, a disguised term for the Austro-Hungary empire. He and his satellites make of the United States a political forum to carry out his intentions.

I call upon the Belgian Embassy to revoke this pretender's passport. He does not represent Belgium. On the contrary, his attempt to restore the feudal aristocracy of the Hapsburgs gives affront to all those fighting against Hitler feudalism. It gives affront to all liberty-loving nations, fighting Prussian junkerism which is the same as Hapsburg junkerism. Any attempt to set up the old Hapsburg monarchy or empire in whole or in part gives affront to our allies: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia. Belgium is an ally. It surely doesn't wish any kind of wedge driven between the United States and the allies of the United States and Belgium. This man is doing exactly that. He has forced these governments-in-exile to send protests to our State Department. They have become outraged at his activities. His attempts to prostitute the purposes of the so-called Austrian Legion in the United States have raised a storm of condemnation.

THE Belgian Embassy must take notice of these machinations of Otto von Hapsburg and his monarchist friends. If the Belgian Embassy withholds action on this protest, I shall insist that our State Department take appropriate action. Failing in that, I contemplate devising legislation which will prevent anyone in this country on any kind of passport, Belgian or otherwise, from attempting to conspire on our shores for the purposes of setting up a monarchy or empire in foreign climes.

The activities of Otto von Hapsburg and his stooges are contrary to the spirit and letter of our tradition, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights, contrary to the Four Freedoms, contrary to the Atlantic Charter. All these documents bespeak the right of all free people to have leaders of their own choosing.

The government that will be Austria's after the war must be a government set up by the people of Austria themselves. Assuredly we could not tolerate freedom of choice given to the Austrians and denied to the Czechoslovakians or Yugoslavians or Poles. The unspeakable temerity and brazen hardihood of Otto von Hapsburg's attempt to rule over Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland deserve condign criticism; nay, more, deserve cancellation of his right to remain in this country.

In the minds of the Czechoslovaks the Yugoslavs, and Austrians, no American is more revered than Woodrow Wilson. The shenanigans of Otto von Hapsburg are really insults to the memory of Woodrow Wilson and his idea of self-determination.

Frankly, I warn this gentleman that unless he stops this "monkey business" he shall come to grief. He will not long be permitted to remain in this country.

As for the Austrian Legion, as a result of the vigorous protests filed with the State Department, officials of the War Department will not force any Austrians or any Poles or any Czechoslovaks or Yugoslavs to join this battalion. No man can be embraced within this Austrian cadre without his wishes. All those in this battalion who desire to leave it can do so by making application to the Commanding Officer. Now let Otto von Hapsburg boast of his "pull" with our War Department. Every time that "pull" rears its ugly head and I see evidence of this "alleged pull," somebody will feel my slingshot.

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(*Continued from page 7*)

world," Marcantonio insists, "is for us to extend it now, before the war is over, to everyone within our own borders."

Without One Bloodhound

SHERIFF R. C. EDWINS, of Harrison County, Mississippi, turned up in metropolitan New York the other day without his bloodhounds. As it turns out, he didn't need them: Governor Dewey, steward of the nation's greatest state, obliged Judge Lynch by handing over George A. Burrows, a Negro who fled North in the vain hope that here his rights would be respected. The protests of white and Negro citizens proved fruitless: the governor accepted Jim Crow's promises that there would be no lynching.

Mississippi has an unenviable record: more than 600 men and women have been hanged from the trees, shot, or burned in that state. Several months ago two Negro boys of fourteen were murdered by lynch mobs. Eight similar atrocities have taken place in Harrison County despite the southern sheriff's bland assurance: "There ain't never been a lynching in Harrison County."

The outrageous facts in the case are these. The sheriff arrived with a pack of photographs of Burrows which carried the following legend: "Wanted for attempted rape of a white woman . . . and for seriously shooting two white men." Questioned by reporters, the official dodged and twisted and finally admitted that the Negro had not even touched the woman he allegedly attempted to rape. The facts indicate that Burrows, a cook, had become involved in a dispute over wages and had been framed for "attempted rape."

GOVERNOR DEWEY would have established no courageous precedent in refusing to turn the Negro over to the southern authorities. In 1937 Gov. Charles F. Hurley of Massachusetts refused to extradite J. Cunningham to Georgia; before that in 1932, Gov. Harry Moore of New Jersey gagged at sending R. E. Burns back to the same state. And only last week Common Pleas Judge Clare P. Fenerty of Philadelphia overrode an order by Governor James to extradite Thomas Mattox, a seventeen-year-old Negro, to Georgia. "I did not conceive it to be the law of Pennsylvania," the judge said, "that I must send a man back to be lynched." But evidently Governor Dewey thought otherwise. The New York executive told representatives of many organizations who intervened in Burrow's behalf that he had been assured by Mississippi's governor that the Negro's "physical safety would be protected" and that he "would be given a trial in accordance with the law." Mississippi law does not permit Negroes on the jury; and the nation has already witnessed the quaint southern custom that permits Negroes to be lynched "with full benefit of the law" when the hooded gangs fail to do the job.

IT WAS made clear to the governor of New York that the interests of national unity were involved in this case; that extradition would not serve to win the good will of the Negro people in this war. But the governor had his own ideas—evidently closer to those of the Mississippi police authorities. These are ideas which must be altered by the aroused will of the entire nation.

Deadline!

JUST eight days remain, from the time this issue of NEW MASSES appears on the New York newsstands, to submit entries in the contest for a poem most suitable for publication in our Jefferson Anniversary issue. The deadline, remember, is March 26. The prize is twenty-five dollars. Each entrant may submit any number of poems and they need not necessarily refer to Jefferson or his work—the award goes to the poem which best expresses the spirit of Jefferson in terms of the issues of today. William Rose Benet, Eda Lou Walton, and Ridgely Torrence will act as judges. Entries should be addressed to Poetry Contest Editor, NEW MASSES, 104 East Ninth St., New York City. NEW MASSES reserves the right to withhold the prize if no poem should be judged suitable for publication in the Jefferson anniversary issue.

What They Read

THE main trend in war reading is away from "escape" books to more serious factual studies. This is not a wish but a fact. It is the central conclusion of the New York Public Library's report for 1942, which adds that "Knowledge and understanding of the war in its varied phases—the home front and the many battle fronts—are the primary concern of today's readers." It is not unusual, says Library Director Franklin F. Hopper, to see a young woman in overalls and helmet with her identification badge pinned on her coat asking for a book like *Practical Mathematics for Shipfitters*. A new global consciousness is reflected in the marked increase of interest in the Public Library's Oriental division.

It is all the more regrettable that with this new demand for serious works, the New York Public Library, like most other libraries in the country, has to work on a sharply curtailed budget. Not enough new books can be bought; worn ones cannot be replaced. This is a false and self-defeating war economy.

Our men in the armed forces too need many more good books than they are getting. It's important to collect tin; and it's important to collect fats; and it's equally important to collect books. The Victory Book Campaign deserves still more support. We know that our readers have done their share, but these are times when we all have to do more than our share. After you have read your new book, remember that there are two or three dozen of our fighters who would like to share your pleasure. Don't let them down.

"Bright Valor"

THE death of Stephen Vincent Benet is a serious loss both to American literature and the fight against fascism. To that fight Benet had contributed as much as any writer in the period since Pearl Harbor. He wished, as he said, to do his bit "to maintain the great shape of democracy, the great, daring and limitless dream of man's free mind." He did more than his bit with his "Your Army" program for the "This Is War" radio series, his six "Dear Adolf" shows, his "Prayer for the United Nations" which President Roosevelt used in his 1942 Flag Day broadcast, and other works. Perhaps the most effective of his wartime productions was the radio play "They Burned the Books," written on the ninth anniversary of the Nazi bookburnings. These last works of Benet carried on in the spirit of his earlier poems and stories which had celebrated American democratic traditions in a style that ranged from the epic lines of *John Brown's Body* to the tall-tale humor and folk-fantasy of *The Devil and Daniel Webster*. His brother William Rose Benet has said that "poetry was from the first a bright valor in his blood." That this valorous literary spokesman of our anti-fascist war should be taken from our ranks so young—he was only forty-four—adds to the shock of his loss.

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AROUND THE WORLD

INSIDE AUSTRALIA

Sydney.

THE Federal Parliament recently reassembled and the campaign conducted since the beginning of the year against Prime Minister John Curtin and the Labor government reached frenzied heights. When moving a resolution reaffirming loyalty to the Allied cause, the Prime Minister was subjected to a running fire of interjections charging him with window-dressing and pandering to the trade unions.

The pivotal point of the press campaign against the government has been the charge that it has used the war situation to introduce socialization. This gives ground for believing that the discredited anti-Labor opposition intends to raise the Red-bogey at the Federal elections which, according to the Constitution, must be held toward the end of the year.

The charge of socialization is coupled with propaganda concerning too many regulations, bureaucratic control, and an attempt to revive the idea of forming an anti-Labor government. All of this is aimed at the Labor government's regulations for widespread rationalization and control of industry to strengthen the war effort—regulations which are not to the liking of the interests represented by the opposition.

Significantly enough, the drive is accompanied by a defense of the "profit motive" in industry. Curtin has publicly exposed the extent to which such bodies as the Australian Chamber of Manufacturers are subsidizing the fight against the government.

The influence of the left has increased enormously during recent months, with the Communist Party (the ban on the Party was lifted only recently) playing a more and more important role. The Party recently concluded a countrywide competition and now has a membership of 17,000. This is more than double the figure of eight months ago. There are also 1,300 branches, the majority of which are based on the factories and pits.

OF OUTSTANDING significance is the strength of the Communists in the trade union movement. They have won many important positions in the unions, including the Iron Workers—now amalgamated with the Munition Workers to form Australia's biggest union with a membership of over 100,000. Members of the Communist Party are also prominent in the Waterside Workers and the Seamen and Miners unions.

The Party is now preparing for the National Congress this month and plans another big drive possibly with the objective of doubling the membership by the end of the year. Its trade union leaders are working in close collaboration with the government and conditions are developing for a united front approach to the Labor Party. The Communists will probably contest some seats in the election but only against candidates opposing the government's policy.

THE Communists are emphasizing that the Japanese threat to Australia is still grave and that we must hold on with major offensive action urgently needed in Burma to assist China. This emphasis is coupled with the granting of freedom for India whose huge forces are vital in safeguarding the independence of Australia. All this can be done while the second land front is opened in Europe.

Also, the Communists have played a big part in securing the labor movement's acceptance of the plans to extend the militia's area of service to the southwest Pacific. As distinct from volunteer units serving overseas, the militia—which forms the largest part of Australia's armed forces—previously could not be sent outside Australian territory. Now the situation makes it urgent that all Australian soldiers be available for defense and offense in the whole southwest Pacific.

[The question of whether the Labor government should extend the service of militiamen to other than Australian territory was first discussed and voted on in the various State Labor Parties. On January 29 Mr. Curtin introduced a measure in the Australian House of Representatives enabling the dispatch of militiamen for active service to the "southwest Pacific zone," including New Guinea, Timor, and parts of other islands.—The Editors.]

A PARADOXICAL position arose when sections of the government's own supporters led the opposition against the government's policy. A storm was aroused by a statement of Fallon, Red-baiting secretary of the Australian Workers' Union, who is also the Federal President of the Labor Party, condemning the policy. New South Wales, the key state, voted solidly for the government, largely owing to the strength of the left. Now a struggle is proceeding inside the Labor Party with a section supporting Lang, the former State Premier in New South Wales campaigning against the party and trying to create a split on the fake issue of "conscription." With an eye on Lang the Labor Party executive has demanded that all politicians sign a pledge to accept the decision of the party on the militia issue. Lang is now "on the spot."

"Concentration Camp—Spain." From the exhibition of paintings by William Gropper now showing at the ACA Gallery in New York City. The exhibition, which opened on March 14, will continue through April 3.

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A trial of strength will take place at the Labor Party's annual conference in June, but there are indications that the Lang section will be defeated. The influential New South Wales State Labor Party (formed following the split during the Menzies government) is supporting the official Labor Party against the Lang section.

Undoubtedly the government faces a difficult year with the problems of further rationalization of industry, increased taxation, and manpower shortage; while the reactionaries will cause embarrassment. However, the bad position over wholesale absenteeism on New Year's Day, usually a holiday, was overcome and the Australian mine workers after a bad start are settling down following the record year in coal production.

Thoughts are turning more and more to the conditions of the postwar world. The government's proposals for increased federal powers (increased power for the federal government is essential for social progress) are awaiting endorsement by the states.

The government has set up a Reconstruction Department to prepare future plans with the progressive economist, Dr. Coombs, in charge.

THE labor movement is watching the development of several mushroom organizations with programs of a fascist tinge which claimed the backing of private banks, making a special appeal to returned soldiers and the dispossessed middle class. But left influence is likely to be decisive in saving the government, strengthening it and improving the war effort.

EDGAR ROSS.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

CAPITOL NEWSREEL

Washington.

ADMIRAL STANDLEY'S provocative slur against the Soviet Union has given new impetus to every appeaser from Senator Wheeler down. It has been welcomed by every anti-Soviet, anti-administration, anti-United Nations spokesman. In Washington few doubt that the ambassador was expressing the attitude of the reactionaries still so numerous in the State Department. Despite Sumner Welles' surprise and sincere anger (and Welles clearly speaks for the President and the administration), a certain other section of the State Department has been at no great pains to conceal its satisfaction with the Admiral's gratuitous slander of America's fighting ally. It is general knowledge that Admiral Standley was anxious to be relieved from his post in Russia; a great deal of talk here hints that Standley was used by the appeasement-minded clique in the State Department to subvert friendship with the Soviet Union.

This group regards the ambassador's press interview as an antidote to Vice-President Wallace's Ohio speech urging postwar US-USSR collaboration to preserve peace in the world. The contents of the Wallace speech were well known in advance. The State Department reactionaries have made no bones of their bitter resentment of the Vice-President's influence on American foreign policy, and these men have devoted much thought to ways and means of neutralizing Wallace's influence. As for lend-lease shipments to the to the USSR, these should be viewed in relation to US production figures: boots—shipments to Russia represented one twenty-fifth of US annual output, or two weeks' production in a year; copper and brass—about one-twelfth annual output, or one month's production; steel—about two days' production. Small arms ammunition in a year could not have lasted the Soviet Union a week. The United States did better on trucks and planes.

★

SENATOR MURRAY'S Small Business Committee plans to set up several subcommittees, particularly one headed by Senator Pepper to explore the subject of war contracts and procurement. The emphasis will be on production in relation to small business. Most important, hearings will be held in the field, with attention on whether capacity is fully utilized, and on problems of overload and backlog. . . . Another subcommittee, headed by Senator Maloney, will concentrate on framing a bill to change the Civilian Supply Agency's present advisory status within WPB to grant it the qualified right to draw up certain contracts. The intention is to refer the proposed bill to the same committee that will consider the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill for an Office of War Mobilization, and thereby stress again the need for over-all planning. . . . Those who have studied the difficulties besetting small business underscore the need to help smaller manufacturers by means which, on the surface, may appear not directly of aid to the war effort. Small business, these experts feel, must be granted easier access to equity capital, with realistic assurances of ability to survive after the war. Otherwise, the argument goes, small producers balk at changing over to war production. Any drastic mortality of the independents speeds the concentration of capital, which inevitably impedes the war effort and strengthens the Luce-Martin crowd in their drive toward ultra-imperialism. Small business, the argument continues, holds a strategic position in determining the kind of war this country will wage. If the independents are ruined, if small business proprietors are declassed, they become fertile soil for fascist demagoguery. . . .

Testifying before the Small Business Committee on March 4, C. E. Wilson, executive vice-chairman of WPB, pointed out that many tough production jobs are being fulfilled satisfactorily by smaller concerns which handle one or two units or parts of a difficult job with the highest degree of accuracy. "We expect that the amount of business placed with smaller concerns will run into billions by the end of the year. . . ." At the same hearing Senator Scrugham of Nevada brought out that up to now contracts have gone mainly to large firms with more than 500 wage earners—only one percent of the total number of plants in the country. Such practice, he declared, makes a "mockery of the Smaller War Plants Act, which the Congress unanimously adopted under sponsorship of this committee."

★

THE new and growing bi-partisan backing for the anti-poll tax bill—a backing that includes the one Negro in Congress, William L. Dawson of Chicago, and the one ALP spokesman, Vito Marcantonio—is conceded here to be the first win-the-war legislative "action" coalition. Experience gained in pushing the repeal of the poll tax can well set the pattern for further counter-offensive against reaction. . . . Pres-

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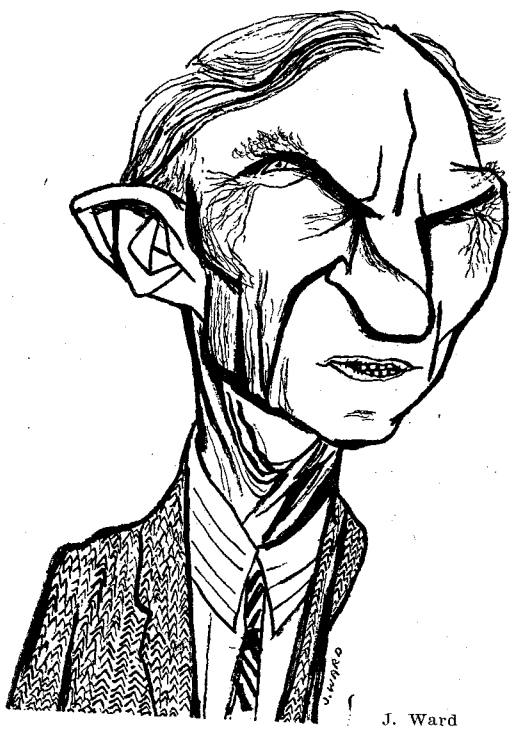
ident Murray of the CIO invited twenty Republican and Democratic congressmen to a dinner where discussion centered on methods of supporting the President and the war effort on the legislative front. Among the valuable suggestions made that evening was one by Representative Marcantonio that the greatest energy should be exerted to obtain working unity on specific issues, rather than placing too much reliance in the beginning on amorphous coalitions lacking definite and immediate programs. . . . Several weeks ago Marcantonio introduced a bill prohibiting discriminatory employment practices. The bill declares that employer discrimination is "obnoxious to the fundamental democratic principle of equal opportunity for all, denies basic civil rights and liberties to large sections of the population, is destructive of workers' morale, impairs national unity, and wastes essential manpower. . . ." Price Administrator Prentiss Brown has issued a statement of policy to all OPA employes charging them to avoid "any act not in accord with the letter and spirit" of the President's executive order 8802 against discrimination. . . . Last week a Detroit delegation arrived in Washington to protest discrimination in the dormitory unit built with federal funds across from Ford's Willow Run bomber plant. The delegation warned that insistence on segregation of Negro from white in this project will keep Negro workers out of jobs. Assistant Administrator of Public Housing Herbert Emerich bluntly supported segregation. The appeal will now be taken to John Blandford, head of the Housing Authority, who has previously denounced discrimination. . . . The Ford Co. is said to be "neutral" in the dispute. The Senate Truman committee, investigating production at Willow Run, pointed out that the plant's failure up to now to meet schedules must be blamed on improper transportation and housing shortages which aggravate manpower difficulties. Ford, of course, opposed public housing at the Willow Run plant. The present attempt to Jim Crow Negro workers raises the question: If Negroes cannot live near Willow Run, how can they be employed—and what effect will segregation have on manpower at this vital war center?



J. Ward

Henry Ford

★

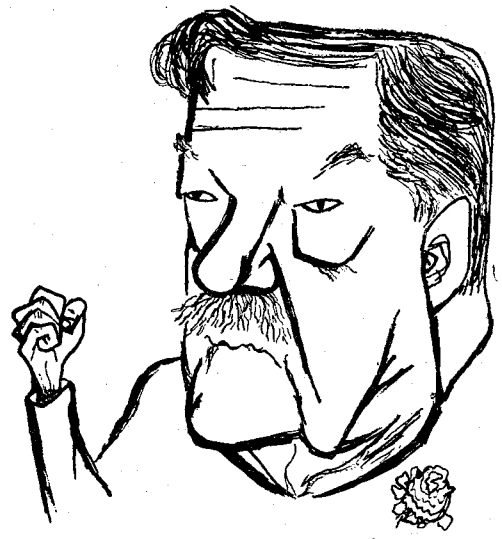
THE United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (CIO) has sent all congressmen a copy of the excellent editorial appearing in the union's paper discussing absenteeism. Among the many favorable responses, Representative McMurray of Wisconsin wrote, "This is the first constructive statement on the subject I have seen." Vito Marcantonio pointed out that his objection in the House to a request for unanimous consent prevented passage of the Kilday bill to limit the draft, and his warning to Carl Vinson of the Naval Affairs Committee that he would also object to an amendment tacking the Lyndon Johnson punishment-for-absentees bill on to pending legislation caused Vinson to withdraw the amendment. . . . UE members in Chicago sent a telegram signed by 709 unionists to all Chicago congressmen urging a fair tax program. The congressmen were impressed. . . .

★

BIRMINGHAM mine operators rejected the request of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers for a six-day week in the southern iron mines, on the ground that iron ore needs could be met even though the five-day week were retained. OWI announced that North African iron ore in "substantial quantities" has been received on the East Coast. The union now asks why the Birmingham companies refuse to increase work hours—and raise production—so that precious cargo space can be used for North African manganese, cobalt, cork, and other products, rather than for iron ore. . . . The Steel Division of WPB protests importations of North African iron ore because the ore is of such quality that it cannot be used in American blast furnaces.

★

THE House Tolan committee will be continued with a new—and in all likelihood militantly progressive—congressman added to the present membership. . . . C. E. Wilson is seriously considering bringing more trade unionists into WPB. In the fight against Ferdinand Eberstadt, recently ousted as WPB vice-chairman, Wilson and Nelson had the backing of William Green, Philip Murray, and the Railroad Labor Executives Association. . . . The Kilgore subcommittee will hold hearings on manpower. The committee is expected to condemn a national service act. . . . Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith opposes the anti-union Austin-Wadsworth bill to draft labor because he considers the legislation "too progressive." . . . A leading public member of the War Labor Board complains that the office of James M. Byrnes, Economic Stabilization Director, forced board decisions in the aircraft and packing-house cases. Ignoring the processes already established by the board, certain of Byrnes' "brain trusters" barge in and interfere with the board's effectiveness, creating the danger of violent unrest on the labor front. The only part of the stabilization program in force, he adds, is wage stabilization. . . .



"Cotton Ed" J. Ward

Senator Downey plans to talk on absenteeism. He will point out that "quits" predominate among employed women in California, as charged by the manufacturers, but that these women are mostly married mothers. After eight to nine hours' work in the plant, they spend four to five hours at home cooking, cleaning, sewing, taking care of the children. Most "quits" are caused by bad health from overwork and strain. Lack of maternity aid and child care facilities makes for the greatest proportion of absenteeism. . . . Reactionary Republicans denounce "bureaucracy" and bait labor, but their main concern is to rewrite appropriation bills. This they have been doing in committee with the eager help of the poll tax Democrats. Cuts in appropriations whittle down administration agencies—the hoped-for result, in the words of a cruder die-hard, will be to "cut the guts out of the President."

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MY VIEW OF SOVIET WAR AIMS

Corliss Lamont surveys the principles on which the USSR has conducted its foreign relations. History solves a so-called mystery. The Baltic states and Poland.

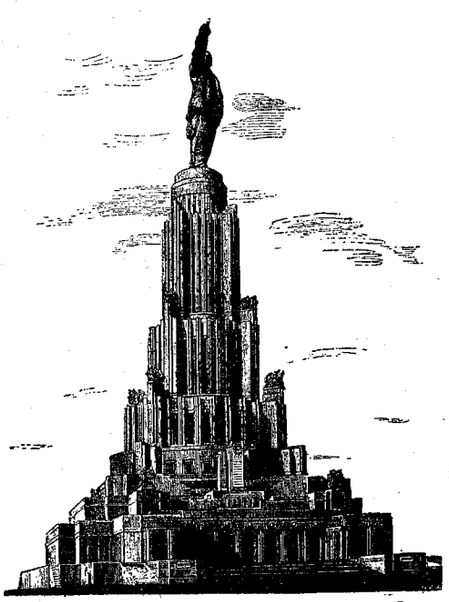
THE most alarming threat to speedy victory and an enduring peace is the new wave of anti-Soviet propaganda in the United States. The furor over Soviet territorial aims in Eastern Europe, the fatuous debate over whether the Red Army will march to Berlin or not march to Berlin, the implication in Vice-President Wallace's recent speech that someone may be planning to "double-cross Russia," Ambassador Standley's untrue charge that knowledge of American aid is being withheld from the Soviet people, the scandalous whispering campaign to the effect that America will have to fight Russia after Hitler is beaten—all these things, and others I do not have the space to mention, add up to a very serious situation indeed.

Undoubtedly the immediate stimulus for the renewed campaign against Soviet Russia has been the magnificent successes of the Red Army against the Nazi invaders since November 1942. It is a tragic commentary on the hoped-for unity of the United Nations that just as the great Russian offensive begins to make possible the final smashing of Hitler, reactionary elements in England and the United States should utilize these very Russian victories as a means to split the Western democracies away from the Soviet Union. The ghost of Neville Chamberlain has not yet been laid. And the basic reason for the current anti-Soviet drive, whipping up wild and fantastic fears of present Russian strength and postwar strategy, is the revival of the old Munich idea both by the Nazi propaganda machine and by the unreconstructed appeasers, defeatists, anti-war and anti-Soviet diehards among the United Nations.

In America these groups constitute only a tiny minority, but it is a minority that wields considerable power in the halls of Congress and in our organs of public opinion. We cannot neglect its dangerous potentialities for misleading the American people and exploiting a certain complacency in regard to our war effort and dislike of making essential sacrifices. There was a time last fall when it seemed to some optimists that good American-Soviet relations were thenceforth going to proceed automatically. The wishful character of their thinking now becomes obvious. The honeymoon is over. No matter how rosy the prospects look at any particular moment, those who know the supreme importance of close cooperation and understanding between the United States and the USSR for winning the war and the peace can never afford to relax their efforts.

A great deal of today's anti-Soviet talk centers around Soviet Russia's alleged goals, territorial and otherwise, in the postwar world. Therefore I am assuming the task in this article of restating what in my opinion is the nature of Soviet aims in the realm of international relations. These aims are simple, understandable, and permanent. They are not policies of the moment; they are of long standing and have been applied consistently by the Soviet Union to the relevant situations during the entire twenty-five years of its existence and in relation to its foreign affairs in both Europe and Asia. They are policies that have been actualized in deeds as well as expressed in words.

FIRST and foremost, let it be said categorically that in the sphere of international affairs the Soviet Union desires world peace above all else. Since its founding in 1917 the Soviet Republic has twice gone through the terrible ordeal of foreign aggression: once, at the very start of its career as a socialist commonwealth and, again, as the paramount object of Hitler's hatred during the second world war. At the end of this war the USSR will want lasting peace more than ever, so that it can devote itself to the prodigious internal tasks of reconstruction that will be necessary, especially in the immense devastated areas of western Russia. It will want to continue with the great Five-Year Plans and the building of socialism, unhampered by the constant threat of military attack and the need of putting into defense industries and armaments a major portion of its economic energies and resources.



The Soviet view is that international war is ultimately ruinous to economic security and stability, no matter what sort of social-economic system is involved. America and Great Britain have surely learned by this time that world wars under twentieth century conditions do not exactly strengthen the capitalist system. The Soviet government has for years taken the position that both war and peace are indivisible and that aggression against one nation, capitalist or otherwise, constitutes an eventual menace to every nation. How sound this position is both Russia and the United States have discovered anew through the rapid spread of the second world war.

Though the Soviets consider wars of national liberation justified—such wars usually being caused by prior imperialist aggression—the wars in general that have been inflicted upon humanity in the twentieth century have been counter-revolutionary in the sense of holding back the peaceful and democratic progress of the people. Today the fascists represent the most reactionary elements in society and have resorted to internal violence and then to external violence precisely to prevent mankind from evolving naturally toward a more cooperative economic system and possibly toward socialism itself.

The international ideals of the Soviet Republic, repeatedly given voice since Lenin's time, stress the urgent need of permanent peace among the various countries of the earth. They call attention to the fact that it is the masses of the people, the workers and peasants (or farmers) in every land who suffer most from war. Thus the self-interest of the Soviet Union as a state, the interest of the Soviet people in economic and social progress throughout the world, and the Marxist ideals dominant within the USRR, all point to the seriousness and sincerity of Soviet Russia's wish for international peace.

SECOND, Soviet Russia remains firm in its insistence that peace can be achieved only through the principle of collective security—that is, the banding together of the peace-loving peoples of the world for the unflinching purpose of imposing economic and, if necessary, military sanctions against a potential or actual aggressor state. The USSR supported this principle unequivocally during the entire period of prewar fascist aggression, starting with the Japa-

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nese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Among all the statesmen of the world it was Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Minister and now happily ambassador to the United States, who fought hardest and most uncompromisingly on behalf of collective security, thus carrying on the task initiated by America's President Woodrow Wilson following the first world war.

It was the failure of the Western democracies adequately to implement this invention of collective security, written into their own League of Nations Covenant, that prevented the building of a genuine peace front with Russia in 1938 and 1939 and that gave Hitler his great opportunity for a one-front war in Europe. Few Americans realize that from the viewpoint of the League Covenant itself the Soviet Union was right all the way through. For Article XVI of the Covenant states in part: "The members of the League agree . . . that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are cooperating to protect the covenants of the League." Now it was precisely the refusal of the Baltic states and Poland to permit passage of Soviet troops in case of a Nazi attack, a refusal backed by Prime Minister Chamberlain, that led to the breakdown in British-Soviet negotiations prior to the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.

Since the Nazi assault on the USSR in summer of 1941, the Soviet government has made perfectly clear that it regards the principle of collective security as a foundation stone in any system of enduring peace. For example, in the Polish-Soviet Agreement of December 1941, it is stated that "a durable and just peace . . . can be achieved only through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. Respect for international law, backed by the collective armed force of all the Allied states, must form the decisive factor in the creation of such an organization." The same thought is to be found in the Twenty-Year British-Soviet Pact guaranteeing the peace of Europe through the collective might of Britain and Russia. The statement in question reads: "The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar period."

THIRD, the Soviet Union stands for the self-determination of peoples and in fact has always supported this principle. The Soviet government, therefore, having subscribed to the Atlantic Charter along with the other United Nations, completely endorses the Charter's pledge that its signatories "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other. . . . They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live." Premier Joseph Stalin considers this matter so important that on several occasions since his country became involved in the war he has explicitly reaffirmed Soviet policy in this regard.

On Nov. 6, 1941, Mr. Stalin stated that "We have not nor can we have such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories or the conquest of other peoples, irrespective of whether European peoples and territories or Asiatic peoples and territories, including Iran, are concerned. Our first aim is to liberate our territories and our people from the German Nazi yoke. We have not nor can we have such war aims as the imposition of our will and regime on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny, and then to accord them the possibility of arranging their own lives on their own land as they see fit, with absolute freedom. No interference of any kind with the domestic affairs of other nations!"

A year later, on Nov. 6, 1942, Premier Stalin said that the peace settlement must include "abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime."

Considering the record of the Soviet Union over the past twenty-five years and its own success in establishing full racial and international democracy in relation to the more than 150 minority peoples of the USSR, I think we can say that no member of the United Nations supports more firmly and sincerely the right of self-determination than does Soviet Russia. The Russians want to see this principle extended to the whole world, including the colonial areas. Looking at the matter historically, our conclusion must be that violation of the principle of self-determination through foreign intervention has in general been a tool of reaction and imperialism. This holds true as far back as the period of Metternich subsequent to the Napoleonic wars. And of course all the military intervention that was initiated in foreign countries between the first world war and the second was on behalf of old-time imperialist or outright fascist interests.

Unfortunately there are a number of

Stabat Mater

The grieving mother stood on the square.
Her dead son was hanging there.

In the frightful world the mother stood,
A servant's kerchief on her head.

She shed no tears, she uttered no cries,
Watched the cold corpse with stone-cold eyes.

Barefoot he dangled in the air.
They had taken his shoes before hanging him there;

The Nazis march in her son's shoes
On the earth which they misuse.

Earth, like the mother, in agony,
Which, like her, waits silently.

* * *

Stabat mater dolorosa
Her sons were cut down from the gallows-tree.

She took them up, she buried her children
In a grave as silent as she.

Stabat mater, Poland our mother,
With her crown of thorns, by the gallows-tree.

JOSEF WITTLIN.

"Stabat Mater," translated by Joy Davidman, is from the forthcoming anthology "War Poems of the United Nations," edited by Miss Davidman, to be published in May by the Dial Press.

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Americans who approve the principle of self-determination only so long as it is not applied in a way that can be regarded as fair or favorable to the Soviet Union. Such Americans approved the intervention by the armies of fourteen different nations against the USSR from 1918 to 1922. Today they and their more recent recruits are trying to puff up into a big anti-Soviet issue the right of the peoples of the Baltic states and what was formerly eastern Poland to carry out the principle of self-determination and be part of the USSR. But if this principle means anything, it means not only recognition on the part of Soviet Russia of other peoples' right to live under capitalist or non-socialist systems. It means also a reciprocal recognition on the part of the rest of the world, particularly by the United States and Great Britain, of the right of such peoples as may so desire to follow a socialistic way of life.

THE Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were, with the aid of the Kaiser's armies, separated from the Soviet Union in 1918 for the express purpose of weakening it and serving as outposts of aggression against it. These three countries voted, in the summer of 1940, to become Soviet Republics and to become incorporated in the USSR. Their inclusion in the Soviet commonwealth of nations greatly strengthened Russia's western defenses and later functioned as a most necessary buffer against Hitler's surprise onslaught. The Soviet Union has a legitimate concern for postwar boundaries that will give it relative security against aggression. But apart from that, there can be no doubt that faithful adherence to the principle of self-determination must recognize that an overwhelming majority of the Baltic peoples desire to retain their natural economic and political ties with the Soviet Union, and that no good reason exists for upsetting the parliamentary decisions of 1940.

As for the 12,000,000 or more Ukrainians and White Russians who lived in the eastern part of Poland, they, too, have a right to the privilege of self-determination. It is to be remembered that these regions, which voted in 1939 to become parts of the White Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics and thus part of the USSR itself, were annexed by the Polish imperialists in 1920 after their unprovoked war of aggression against the Soviet Union. The new frontier of 1939, along most of its 400-odd miles, followed the line proposed as a just one before the Polish-Soviet war by Lord Curzon, an anti-Soviet, British conservative. It included within it about 1,000,000 Poles inextricably mixed with the rest of the population. In any case, the Soviet government, which stands for a strong and independent Poland, has made clear that the precise postwar boundary is an open question that can be satisfactorily adjusted after the final defeat of the Nazis.

Bessarabia, as is well known, was stolen from Russia in 1918 by Rumania. Its annexation was never recognized by the Soviet government nor even by the United States. There would seem to be no sound ground why Rumania, Hitler's satellite in aggression, should receive back Bessarabia and the small portion of Bukowina, predominantly Ukrainian in population, that the USSR incorporated at the same time. Again, viewing objectively Finland's role as a full-fledged ally of the Nazis, there would appear to be no particular point in redrawing the boundaries agreed upon in the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty of 1940 and in reestablishing, for example, the Finnish frontier less than twenty miles from the city of Leningrad. Apart from any other arguments, strategic considerations of transcendent importance justify the Soviet attitude here.

As for the nightmare frequently conjured up, that the Soviet Union will march its armies all over Europe placing in power Communist regimes at the close of the war —this fanciful notion comes straight from the maliciously purposeful brains of Goebbels and Hitler, doing their best to disrupt the United Nations coalition. Not only is such action contrary to all Soviet policy and principle. As a practical matter it is hardly conceivable that Soviet Russia, with its army and civilian casualties probably as high as 12,000,000, and with almost the entire western part of the country laid waste, would wish to embark on doubtful military adventures throughout the continent of Europe. Above all, the Soviet Union will not desire to clash with England and the United States, from whom it will greatly need postwar collaboration, especially in the economic sphere. And in the Far East the USSR will still have to deal with the tough problem of Japan.

The Soviet people continue to believe firmly that a planned socialist system is superior to capitalism and that the rest of the world would do well to adopt it, but this does not mean that the Soviet people or their government are in favor of spreading socialism through military aggression. The USSR, which is almost three times as big as the United States and which possesses within its extensive borders abundant natural resources of almost every variety, has neither an economic nor strategic need for additional territories. Of course new governments will arise in Europe when Hitler and Mussolini are smashed. They may be republics; they may be monarchies. They may be radical; they may be conservative. If some of them turn out to be genuinely socialist, certainly the Soviet people will be glad, just as most Americans will be glad if they turn out to be capitalist.

THE fourth main peace aim of the Soviet Union is the reestablishment of normal international trade. Following the war the USSR will itself be in tremendous need of goods from other countries, especially from the United States and Great Britain. Naturally Soviet Russia was never in favor of the economic and financial boycott imposed upon it by the capitalist powers after the first world war. When the present conflict is over no nation will be more insistent than the Soviet Union on the complete, worldwide extension of the economic provisions of the Atlantic Charter. And our own America will have much to gain economically from maintaining good trade relations with Soviet Russia, since orders from that nation may well soften the shock of readjustment of a peace economy here.

Fifth and finally, Soviet Russia supports the principle of universal disarmament. And though that goal looks exceedingly distant and downright utopian at the moment, I am convinced that the Russians will return to their former proposals on behalf of total disarmament as soon as postwar security is established on a reliable foundation. The Soviet Union favors disarmament both in order to eliminate international fears and frictions and in order that the billions which go into armaments can be used, both in Russia and elsewhere, to raise the living standards of the people in general.

I hope that this review of Soviet aims in the postwar world makes clear the fundamental, deep-reaching issues upon which the Soviet Union, America, and the other United Nations can collaborate in the field of international relations. Such collaboration can be supported wholeheartedly by any American, regardless of his position on domestic issues in either the United States or Soviet Russia. Internal problems of economics, politics, philosophy, and whatnot are either secondary or irrelevant to cooperation with the Soviet Union on the great ends of world peace, collective security, the self-determination of peoples, normal international trade and disarmament.

Misunderstanding now of Soviet postwar aims is creating a lack of harmony that imperils both victory in this conflict and success in averting that third world war which looms ahead as a frightful possibility. Particularly in regard to the most pressing and critical present, all anti-fascist Americans of every political persuasion must realize that *the war against the Axis is not yet won*, on either the Russian or any other front. The United Nations cannot afford the luxury of disunity. The United States cannot afford the distraction of an anti-Soviet debauch.

CORLISS LAMONT.

Mr. Lamont, the author of "You Might Like Socialism" and "The Illusion of Immortality," is chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

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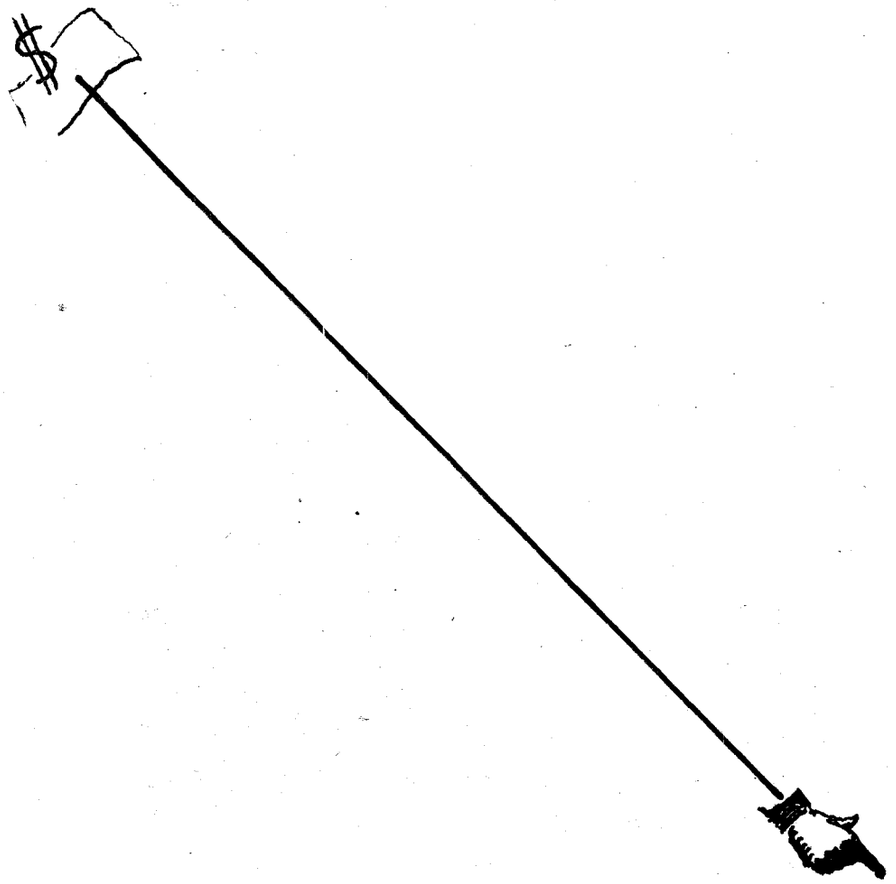

TAXES TO BEAT THE AXIS

Last week you paid your income tax.

Taxes were heavier, yes, for all of us. Heavier than ever. But Americans paid proudly, knowing that cash cannot match the sacrifice our brothers and sons are making on the frontlines.

We on New Masses noted something else, too. This past week, income tax week, registered the fact that more individuals contributed to New Masses than in any other week this year. A total of $1,836 came through the mails the past seven days. We are truly proud of that fact, for we know our readers are not rich people: their response showed they were willing to make additional sacrifices for their magazine. They regard it as we do—as one of the vital forces in America to annihilate fascism.

But we must in all frankness register another fact. To date, we have raised only $8,170 toward our goal of $40,000. The latter figure is the minimum amount which will keep NM afloat. Yes, NM is in danger and will remain so until every reader has done his share and more. WE STILL NEED $31,830. Please mail to NM today, at once, all you can and in addition make as large a pledge as possible for later this year. With your help New Masses will do more than its share in achieving victory.

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Men and materials. An American convoy, guns ready for action, sails for one of the battle zones.

INVASION DIARY

A seaman who rode the convoy to North Africa kept a log. "The Yanks are very happy. They've been promised action." The U-boats that waited to form a reception committee. . . .

TROOPS are all on board now. Their great job at the moment is to solve mysteries of a correctly slung hammock, and find their way about the ship. We're waiting for the "off."

It comes at 10:30 PM. The anchor is weighed. The din of it subsides. Most of us are ordered to turn in now. We lie in our bunks and feel the movement of the ship groping its way through the blackness of the autumnal night down the river to the open sea.

In the early morning light I watched the seemingly endless line of merchant ships and naval escorts heading in a line astern for the open sea. We shall take up convoy formation. Thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three, thirty-four, thirty-five—I counted them.

WE KEEP on. Sometimes I can see over forty ships, excluding naval vessels. All the merchant ships are loaded down to the Plimsoll line with the weight of men and materials they carry.

We are in convoy formation now. Many of the ships I can see are well known passenger liners. But they are now stripped for action. I saw them in peacetime. Their decks then were made for long, lazy days for people well-off enough to afford cruising holidays. All that has gone.

By the end of the week the boys have taken on a new lease of life. The seas are calmer now. There is considerable excitement when it becomes known that the American general aboard us is going to address officers and men to make his "revelations."

I couldn't get away to be in the lounge where the general said his piece. But I'm told it was a straightforward statement. The objectives of the fighting men would be three places, which he called "C," "A," and "O." It is the last-named which concerns the men on this ship.

The gum-chewing Yanks are very happy. They've been promised action.

Destroyers are in front of us, and flanking us. Just like sheep-dogs watching a flock. A cruiser is also pretty near us.

Then suddenly two of the destroyers streak away to starboard. A few minutes later come muffled explosions and columns of water rising high. Depth charges. We saw nothing. But the destroyers apparently had heard something. We got keyed up a bit. What a prize we would be for the U-boats. But the old watchdogs are around.

SATURDAY, November 7.—This is the Big Day! Daylight sees us in the Mediterranean with the coast of Spain on our port side. The boys are in high spirits. They don't know what they're going to meet. But they hope to meet something!

I asked a guy from California what his job was. "Waal," he says, "I'm a machine-gunner, and when I git ashore, I'm told that we're gonna cover a certain road. Any automobile, truck, tank, or what-not that comes our way and ain't got the right answers—we give the driver the works."

This morning we caught up with the supply ships. An even bigger convoy than ours. Some array of ships, this, including additional aircraft carriers, another cruiser, numerous destroyers, and motor torpedo boats that buzz around like a swarm of mosquitoes.

As the day wears on we leave the Spanish coast behind us. Flying boats and scout planes are above us. Last minute preparations and checkups are made. Royal Navy

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men are busy on the landing craft, running the engines and checking the gears. Troops are testing their equipment. Outwardly, at any rate, they're quite nonchalantly waiting for zero hour.

In less than two hours, the first batch of men will head quietly for that distant shore.

They're practically all chewing gum.

SUNDAY, November 8.—It was very black about one in the morning. But I was able to see the landing craft at the ship's side. They started their first trip just before midnight.

Conditions were perfect for the landing job. Pitch darkness, no moon, no stars, a light wind, and a calm sea. All very quiet except for the slap of the water.

Now and then I could hear brief orders being given to the crews of each barge before it took off. Then came the throb of their engines and their propellers churned the water into a bright phosphorescent glow as they disappeared into the darkness.

Six AM—There was gunfire when I awoke. I wondered who was responsible. On deck I found out.

Isolated shore batteries had opened up. Shells were falling dangerously close to one liner which was lying close inshore. The firing, however, was erratic.

Seven AM—Under cover of the smoke the landing goes on. Through my binoculars I see plainly the columns of men moving to their objectives, already supported by jeeps and motorcycles. One of our fighter planes has landed on the beach. Maybe Roosevelt's appeal and that of de Gaulle which followed have had some effect. There seems to be little opposition here. Hope the same is true at "A" and "C."

Eight AM—Still hear distant gunfire. Presumably it's from Oran itself. We are concentrating on Arzeu, twenty miles to the east.

Shore batteries have been silenced. The landings now are being made without incident.

Noon—This is Dunkirk avenged all right. The beaches are black with men. But they're not waiting to be evacuated. They're going on to settle some accounts.

Our landing craft are assisting in the unloading of other vessels. Their crews are not stopping for food, but it is being lowered to them piping hot, to be eaten en route.

Four PM—Seems the news is out now. Vichy and Berlin broadcasts come out with a lot of hooey about aggression. Anyway, so far as this sector is concerned, it was a peaceful, bloodless landing. Arzeu is under our control. Oran, it seems, will accept the inevitable.

MONDAY, November 9.—Calm this morning. Gunfire in distance. On the beach, several barges thrown there by last night's high wind and heavy surf.

Crews have been up all night as a result; but still a lot to be done before they are refloated.

Landing of materials still going on. As the landing craft come alongside, the swell lifts them eight or ten feet—up and down, up and down. But by skillful handling they carry on with the job.

We hear by radio of the Algiers armistice. Good news! Where we are—east of Oran—everything seems to be going rather too well. We keep wondering what is happening between here and Oran. The Yanks are on their way there. Gunfire can be heard. But we don't think there'll be a real hitch.

A news bulletin tells us of a naval battle off Casablanca. It seems the situation there will soon be under control.

Same broadcast announces fighting in and around Oran. This means that the Yanks landed from this and our neighboring ships are in action.

It's curious. We feel that the people at home must know more than we do about what is happening, even in Oran, twenty miles away. At this moment Britain and America know more about things than we do. But they don't know that a gale has sprung up. Anyway, here's to the Navy lads.

TUESDAY, November 10.—At dawn there was still distant gunfire. The wind has dropped. Sea is calm. As morning wears on, the gunfire from Oran becomes heavier. Rumored on board that we are shelling Oran. Anyway, whoever did bombard Oran achieved the purpose quickly. Oran has capitulated.

WEDNESDAY, November 11.—Calm and sunny day. No sign of the storm except the landing craft and their crews. The former are rather battered, and the latter are just out on their feet. But they've both got what it takes.

The last runs are now being made with minor items of equipment. Looking round I see that several of our ships have left during the night. Understand that we will follow them soon.

Even so, I see another convoy approaching of about two dozen ships, presumably supply ships coming to keep up the good work of the landing. I plainly see now that the decks of these ships are loaded with tanks, armored cars, lorries, and trucks.

Have just heard that Casablanca surrendered. Understand that in naval battle the French lost several destroyers and that the battleship *Jean Bart* is a blazing hulk. That means in effect that the present stage is over. The Allies have won.

Bigger things to come seem evident from Hitler's occupation of the whole of France and his activities in Tunis.

As I write now the time is 11:40 PM, and we are under way. We weighed anchor, and are now heading for Gibraltar. Gun crews have been formed to man the machine-guns night and day. "What price the field?" What-ho.

Dropped anchor in Gibraltar. Harbor crowded. During afternoon there were guns firing on the Rock, but apart from this everything went on peacefully. Whatever we called at the Rock for, the business was soon done. We weighed anchor, all set for what may be a sticky trip. In formation are at least a dozen merchant ships and several destroyers. We cleared the Straits during the night, and are now heading into the Atlantic. High wind and heavy swell. So far so good. Reported that U-boats are waiting to form a reception committee that we don't particularly want to meet at this stage.

Above the noise of heavy seas and the creakings and groanings of the ship came the shattering row of the alarm bells. Like lightning we all dived for emergency stations. I saw two of the destroyers racing back.

Then, with the rise and fall of the ship, I could see what happened. One of the ships in the convoy had been torpedoed. The torpedoing showed the reckless daring of the U-boat commander. A warship went to the assistance of the sinking ship.

As we moved away from the scene, every man's face was eloquent. They were hoping so very fervently—as I was—that the lads could be got off the sinking ship.

It was a hazardous undertaking by the warship to try rescue work with the mountainous seas that were running.

We are warned to be ready for any emergency—that didn't need saying. The odds are a bit against us.

Night—starless, moonless, and welcome.

WEATHER still bad. We are pitching so violently that our propellers are clearing the water at each plunge.

We learned this morning that the ship torpedoed yesterday sank, and we got the figures of survivors and casualties.

Most of the men had been saved. It's still true that the Battle of the Atlantic is the biggest and toughest.

Coastline came into view today. Almost out of the wood now. "Docking fever" spreading among the crew. This does not mean a rise in temperature, but it does mean a giddy rise in spirits.

All of us have visions of leave, or going home—and what that one word does mean!

FRANCIS A. WINTER.

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HOW AMERICA SAW KARL MARX

Charles Dana wrote "His talents were brilliant and his learning varied and accurate." Marx' relations with outstanding American leaders of his time. Something Martin Dies would never understand.

"MARX died today." These three short words, irrevocable in their finality, were cabled to New York on March 14, 1883, by Friedrich Engels, Marx' life-long friend and collaborator. The greatest genius of his age and of many ages had passed away, leaving humanity shorter by a head.

This was not the first time the news of Marx' death had been flashed to the United States. Twelve years before all New York newspapers carried a London dispatch, dated Sept. 5, 1871, which said: "Dr. Karl Marx, the leading spirit of the International Society, died today, in his fifty-third year." This "news" was a deliberate hoax concocted on September 4 by *L'Avenir Liberal*, a Bonapartist paper published in Paris. It was then relayed to England and from there telegraphed to the American press which published it in good faith together with detailed biographical sketches of Marx and lengthy editorial evaluations of his thought and significance.

Charles Dana, editor of the New York *Sun*, took the occasion to publish a letter Marx had written him about ten days before "as one of the latest utterances of a most remarkable man." Twenty years earlier Dana had secured Marx' services as a correspondent for the New York *Tribune* to which Marx continued to send articles for ten years. On July 6, 1871, Dana had written Marx requesting an article for the *Sun* on the International Workingmen's Association (First International). Marx replied on August 25 that he would comply with Dana's wish "when a favorable occasion occurs for rushing into print." Dana reprinted this letter and introduced it with the following note:

"Karl Marx, whose death in London on Tuesday last we have already chronicled, was an extraordinary man. His talents were brilliant and his learning varied and accurate. His affections were fixed upon ideas and not on money or worldly renown. He was a champion of social democracy, and loved nothing so much as to defend by the written or spoken word the principles of his faith. A formidable combatant in the arena of debate, his greatest power was however exhibited in organization. His conception of the International, a universal Trades Union, combining the laboring peoples of all countries, languages, and religions in one vast league for the protection of their common interests, was magnificent. By means of this cosmopolitan league he intended to enforce justice, to prevent war, and to secure for the laboring man his rightful share in the product of his industry and the benefits of society. In its essence this was a purely pacific proposition but it could not be pacific in practice. The interests affected were too large and too positive to allow such a scheme to be carried out without resistance; and, besides, Marx himself was constitutionally a fighting man and not a Quaker. It is an interesting fact that this truculent reformer died of the almost universal disease of our day, which lies in wait for public men, statesmen, great lawyers, politicians, railway grandees, successful authors, bankers and merchants, and which slays them just as their success is perfect and their greatness complete. We mean, of course, nervous exhaustion from overwork. Marx sinned in this way as willfully and as fatally as the most restless or avaricious millionaire in the world. His death appears to have been sudden and unexpected, as the readers will gather from the letter which we subjoin. We had asked him to furnish for publication a complete statement of the constitution and purposes of the International, and his reply to this application reached us by mail two days after the telegram announcing his death. Although the letter was intended to be private, the interest it possesses as one of the latest utterances of a most remarkable man induces us to lay it before the public." (N. Y. *Sun*, Sept. 9, 1871.)

DANA's opinion of Marx is of more than literary interest. It carries the weight of important historical testimony as to the long and close association of Marx, the founder of the Communist movement, with the United States, its life and its public personalities. Study and accurate knowledge of this country was, of course, an important element in the formation of Marx' thought. But he himself was not unknown to the American public, as Dana's comment shows. Marx' relations were not only with a few Communist-minded immigrants in the United States or American labor leaders like William Sylvis. His relations were with America as a whole, with the mainstream of American life, its struggle for existence and its national development. From 1852-62 he wrote for the most important newspaper in the United States, speaking to scores of thousands and to the most influential circles. True, Marx' fame as the world Communist leader had not yet been established in this country. But only a few years later he was in official communication with the President of the United States on behalf of the international labor movement, lending encouragement and support to the American nation in its struggle for survival against the slaveowners' rebellion.

Marx first became known in the United States on a national scale in 1871 after the rise and suppression of the Paris Commune, the first workers' government in history. The International Workingmen's Association was attacked by the capitalist press all over the world as the instigator of the Paris Commune, which was set up March 18, 1871. Marx was regarded as the man behind the scenes. This impression received even wider circulation after the publication of the IWA's Address in defense of the Commune, written by Marx, at the end of May 1871 (this is his famous work, *The Civil War in France*). During June Marx was the subject of attack throughout the world press which followed the cue of the reactionary Versailles papers.

This prompted him to write to his friend Dr. Kugelmann on June 18: "The *Address* is creating the devil of a noise and I have the honor of being at this moment the best calumniated and the most menaced man in London."

In July reporters for the New York *World*, and the New York *Herald*, the flamboyant paper edited by James Gordon Bennett, came to interview Marx and see the "monster" for themselves. The *World* reporter interviewed him July 3 and his story was published July 18. The *Herald* man saw Marx July 29, and his story appeared August 3. It was a particularly imaginative story. Marx was incensed by its misrepresentations and he repudiated the interview in its entirety. "Of what I am reported to have said, one part I said differently, and another I never said at all," he wrote to the editor of the *Herald* on August 17 in a letter which that paper never published. Concerning the slander campaign against him and the International, Marx wrote caustically in a letter to Kugelmann on July 27, "Formerly it was believed that the creation of Christian myths was possible only under the Roman empire, because printing had not yet been invented. On the contrary. The daily press and the telegraph which disseminates its inventions in a flash over the entire globe fabricate more myths (and the bourgeois animals believe and spread them) in one day than could formerly be accomplished in one century."

DESPITE the fear of Communism which the Paris Commune had aroused among propertied circles in the United States, when the news of Marx' alleged death was telegraphed from London the

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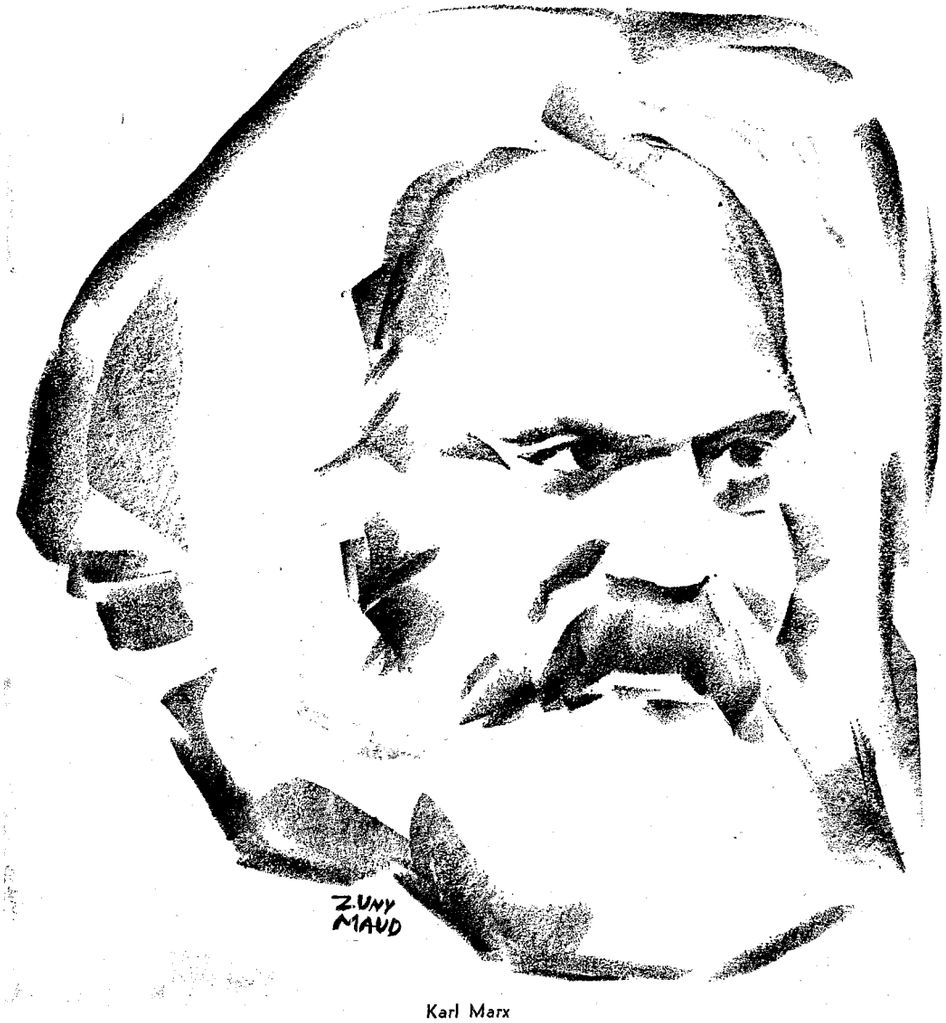

Karl Marx

New York press made an effort at honest appreciation of his life work. It is interesting to note this first general effort of the American press seventy-two years ago not just to judge and condemn, but to understand Marx if only for the purpose of disagreeing with him. What a contrast with the unreasoning, ignorant, and cowardly misrepresentation of the Communist position today by Martin Dies, and with the no-less ignorant and unreasoning misrepresentation by Attorney General Biddle in his decision in the Bridges case. The historical circumstances are unquestionably different and at different levels of development. But the lessons of the contrast should not be lost.

TRUE, the news of Marx's alleged death came sufficiently long after the suppression of the Commune to have allowed the ruling circles to recover from their shock and hysterical fear. This was especially so since they were in the midst of a process of enrichment and wealth accumulation unprecedented in the history of the United States. The illusion of permanence and unshakable power which this created was not to be shattered before another two years in the crisis of 1873. The fact remains, however, that American public opinion in 1871, with all its class prejudices and limitations, grounded its evaluation of Marx in some objective recognition of social and historical tendencies.

The New York *Herald*, which on August 3 had published the misleading interview by its London correspondent, wrote a 1,500-word leading article on Marx on September 6, declaring that: "This event [that is, Marx' alleged death] will be both a cause of grief to the society in which he was so prominent and of rejoicing to the monarchs, rulers, and aristocracies of Europe. He was an able man and a great organizer, and his death will be felt by the International; but his work will live after him, for he has done more than any other man to give shape and power to the associations of the working classes of Europe. Still his death will not break up the International. Theoretic and impractical as may be some of the views of this organization, it is based on a principle that cannot be ignored in this enlightened and progressive age. . . . The conservative or reactionary press of Europe is endeavoring to create alarm of this formidable society. . . . Ideas and aspirations of the masses, in this age, cannot be crushed out under the tread of colossal armies or by the repressive, reactionary measures of government. . . . The masses of mankind in civilized countries today are enlightened enough to realize their condition and to know their rights; and they will be emancipated at any cost. Political inequality, oppression, and starvation they will not endure. The sooner governments understand this the better. The progressive spirit of the age can no more be quenched than can the light of the sun be extinguished."

THE New York *Tribune* in its September 6 issue wrote a long factual obituary in which it drew attention to the fact that after 1851 Marx "became London correspondent of the *Tribune*, and also contributed to our columns articles upon the most important questions of European politics. His intimate acquaintance with European affairs and the revolutionary leaders rendered his communications highly interesting, and did much to inform correctly the American people upon the aspirations of the European Liberals who were then proscribed and maligned." This is followed by a description of the First International which Marx headed. The International, the *Tribune* said, "attained great prominence in France during the rule of the Paris Commune with which it was in active sympathy. After the overthrow of that body, Dr. Marx published an elaborate defense of its principles which possessed all the vigor and terseness of Cobbett." [William Cobbett, one of the most remarkable English political writers of the first third of the nineteenth century, began as a Tory but later became a Radical and an ardent champion of the people's rights.]

The New York *Evening Post* declared in its editorial of September 6 that "the death of the remarkable agitator, Dr. Karl Marx, just at this time is an event of importance. It deprives the great league of its ablest and most fearless leader, if it does not leave it to men entirely incompetent to wield it."

The *World* carried a short editorial on September 6, describing him as the author of "the passionate defense of the Paris Commune" and as "a man of undoubted organizing ability" whose death it did not regard as necessarily an irreparable loss to the International—"for if that body possesses the real vitality with which it is credited, the loss of no single leader can permanently weaken it." In its issue of September 8, the *World* printed the resolution adopted by the Cosmopolitan Conference of New York which expressed surprise at the news of Marx' sudden death and described him as "one of the truest, most fearless, and most unselfish defenders of all classes and all peoples suffering from oppression."

A month and a half after this rumor of Marx' death, the October 21 issue of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* printed a letter from Marx dismissing the fake report in a sentence: "The news of my death was concocted at Paris by the *Avenir Liberal*, a Bonapartist paper." *Woodhull*

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communication by saying that "this active friend of freedom is not dead but lives and speaks, to the confusion of the despots and pseudo-republicans."

Marx did not die until twelve years later, but the comments on the occasion of his alleged death constitute an important contribution to the historical record. They provide additional evidence that the attempt to represent Marxism as foreign to the United States is a shameless distortion of history, a distortion which is itself a relatively recent importation into American public life.

SIXTY years after Marx' death the magnitude of his genius is more impressive than ever. It is a genius which belongs to the whole world. Marx has stood the test of time and history, the test of life. In face of humanity's greatest crisis, Marx' thought, especially as embodied in the work of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin, has demonstrated its great creative power, its ability to help humanity survive and save its most precious achievements from Nazi slavery and world conquest. Marxism has trained generations of leaders who are in the forefront of humanity's struggle everywhere for freedom and independence. The fatuous philistine notion, monotonously repeated each generation, that Marxism is only the outworn, lifeless dogma of an insignificant sect removed from the mainstream of human thought and action—that notion is being irrevocably smashed in this war.

This is reflected in Vice-President Wallace's recent speech acknowledging that "the future well-being of the world depends upon the extent to which Marxianism, as it is being progressively modified in Russia, and democracy, as we are adapting it to twentieth century conditions, can live together in peace." Irrespective of the Vice-President's conception of Marxism, he nevertheless proclaims a profound truth: that the welfare of the world requires the rejection of the outworn and self-complacent illusion that Marxism in its living embodiments can be treated as something alien to the progress of humanity. There no longer can be any doubt that the denial of Marxism's role and scope inevitably leads to Dies' and Hitler's anti-Comintern camp, the camp of Axis domination.

Marxism has a clear and unequivocal position with regard to this war of national liberation, a position in no way weakened by theoretical reservations or hampered by conflicting conceptions expressed in ambiguous policies. It is precisely in relation to this war that we can see the full genius of Marxist thought. Marxism is not only a theory of the class struggle, a struggle between capital and labor; it also recognizes and provides the only real basis for understanding the importance of the national struggle and the primacy of national independence as a *precondition* for the development of the workers' struggle for socialism. And when national independence really becomes the central issue, as it is today for the nations of the world, Marxism leaves no room for doubt that everything else must be subordinated. For the *class interests* of labor do not exclude, but on the contrary presuppose, national interests when these are truly the interests of the *whole* nation and not just the interests of the exploiting part of the nation.

Martin Dies would like to proclaim Karl Marx persona non grata in the United States. It is too late, Mr. Dies. The record of history is irrevocable.

A. LANDY.

and Claflin's Weekly introduced Marx'

Exclusive!

Underground

SOME time ago the soldiers of a Red Army Guards Regiment stormed a Nazi bridgehead near the city of Voronezh. They captured a battery of field guns which had been fabricated in the huge Skoda armament works in Pilsen, Bohemia. The Guardsmen thereupon addressed an appeal to Czech workers in the Skoda plants, telling them about their grief in discovering that the Nazis' guns had been made by Slay brothers of an occupied country. The Skoda workers were asked to sabotage the plants' installations and thus help the Red Army crush the common enemy of all Slav peoples. "Sabotage is a difficult and very dangerous job," said the appeal, which was broadcast over short wave radio, "but it is not more difficult than the job we Red Army men are doing. We too risk our lives, we too are ready to sacrifice our blood."

Now word has arrived in London through underground channels giving the answer of the Skoda workers to the Red Guardsmen's radio appeal. The Gestapo arrested 128 workers of department "F" of the Skoda plant near Bolevec-Pilsen and had them all shot after a summary six-hour trial. Big posters on the walls of all plant buildings told other workers that "a vicious attempt by saboteurs" had been crushed. The saboteurs were said to have committed "a tremendous crime against the German army" instigated by Russian broadcasts.

The kind of sabotage the workers had practiced was not revealed. But it became known by word of mouth—"whispered newspapers"—that the workers of department "F" had skillfully changed the testing apparatus for gun barrels so that large numbers of perfectly good ones were rejected. They had to be scrapped and melted down, causing a considerable loss in time and materials. Experts estimated that more than 60,000 working hours and about 1,000,000 marks in materials were wasted by this sabotage.

THE executed workers, a third of whom were women, were buried during the night by the Gestapo. The families of those shot were not allowed to attend the funeral, nor were they told where their relatives had been buried. This was done in order to avoid silent demonstrations. The underground organization of the Skoda workers frustrated the Gestapo plan. When the workers on the night shift left the plant and the day workers came in, an unknown voice called out that the graves of the executed workers were located beneath the monument of Saint John of Nepomuk at Bolevec. Several other voices repeated the news. It spread throughout the workers' settlements. From then on, the monument of Saint John of Nepomuk was covered with flowers and branches of fir trees and small red and white flags. The Gestapo threw a cordon around the monument. People thereupon uncovered their heads as they passed by. Finally the monument was torn down by the Elite Guard. But to this very moment the place where it stood has to be guarded by a patrol to prevent people from silently demonstrating their love for the executed martyrs and their hatred for the Gestapo murderers.

Skoda workers have repeatedly engaged in sabotage against the German army. It was precisely their sabotage in the fall of 1941 which caused Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, to replace Reichsprotektor Baron Neurath with the hangman Heydrich. Heydrich initiated indescribable mass terror. He was killed in May 1942 by two Czech patriots who never were discovered. After his death the terror was increased. But it could not break the spirit of the Skoda workers.

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FUN IN A MORGUE

An hour ago I sat in a little neighborhood movie house in Washington, D. C. Crowded close all around me were four hundred fellow Americans, ordinary, plain people like myself. We had come together, on this evening in March 1943, to see a Hollywood film. Most of us knew the picture wasn't much good. We'd seen the reviews: "slight," or "trivial," or even "forced." But it was Ginger Rogers and Cary Grant. It will pass the time. It can't be too bad.

The name of the motion picture I saw, along with my fellow citizens this evening, was *Once Upon a Honeymoon*. It was written by Americans; it was acted by famous Americans; and it was produced, not long ago, in Hollywood, Calif., United States of America.

This motion picture made fun of the slaughter of the Jewish people in Warsaw.

This motion picture, employing newsreel shots, used the entry of Hitler into Vienna as a gag—a good, hearty laugh.

This motion picture included shots of a concentration camp, with Ginger Rogers and Cary Grant in the foreground, making love after the unspeakably coy and silly fashion of Hollywood farce writers. Yes, believe me, this is true. While the hero and heroine of this cheap little gag comedy winked and ogled each other for close-up shots, the voice of a Cantor was heard, chanting the Jewish prayers for the dead.

Oh, have we no heart, we Americans? Is this our answer, our unspeakable, unbelievable answer to the agony of Hitler's victims? Oh, where are our souls? Where is our conscience, my country?

We sat, we four hundred Americans, in this little theater, in the very capital of our nation, tonight. And most of us laughed! laughed! when Cary Grant, confronted by some stagey Nazis, turned full face to the audience, lifted his eyebrow in that famous and inimitable Cary Grant grimace, and said, playing the line for a gag, "They think I'm a Jew."

And we laughed. We Americans, safe in our fat countryside, stuffed with the rich, the still incredibly rich abundance of our evening dinner tables, thousands of miles away from the firing squads and the Nazi gallows—we! we Americans! we heard those words, "They think I'm a Jew." And we laughed.

Oh, may we never live to taste the agony that we laughed at tonight! May we never feel the exquisite sensations which accompany the death of a beloved child by starvation. May we never stand herded together in a German railroad car, waiting for death, merciful death, by suffocation. May we never be commanded to dig fresh earth over the victims of one firing squad so that the trench may be prepared for the next row of innocents.

Oh, what have we done, we four hundred Americans who laughed tonight? Yes, and what of the producers who made this film? What of the critics who dismissed it as "trivial," and "cheap," and "forced"?

Is it "trivial" to mock at the Nazi sterilization program? I can hardly write this down, and yet I saw tonight a scene in an American film which used the Nazi crime against even the unborn generations as the material for a gag—a rather off-color gag. Yes, this is so. In the picture Cary Grant and Ginger Rogers are directed to walk through a door which their Nazi guard points out. They mistake him; and approach a door which is placarded with a sign—Cary Grant explains to the audience. The room inside is a clinic for sterilizing Jews. The cream of the jest is now apparent to the audience. The Nazis imagine Miss Rogers and Mr. Grant are Jews; but of course we know they aren't, it's all one of those Hollywood mistakes which always come out all right in the end. But that's not all. The Nazis also imagine Miss Rogers and Mr. Grant are married—that's why they want to sterilize them, see? But! They're not! Not yet, you see. That's the happy ending and we're only halfway through the film and Miss Rogers is still married to a Nazi spy. If you follow me?

Just as the suspense becomes unbearable, it turns out it's the wrong door. Beyond the right one is the American consul, arrived to rescue Cary and Ginger from their troubles.

And I, along with my fellow citizens, sat and watched this, silently. What death must lie in the heart of a woman whose womb has been violated by the Nazi knives? What have the thousands of girls who have approached such a door as we saw in that movie thought in those final moments before the inexorable hand of the pitiless doctor seizes his scalpel to make them forever less than women, forever forbidden the children they might have held in their arms? Have we no pity? Is it possible that we find in the anguish of the Nazi victims the subject for a Hollywood gag farce?

"They think I'm a Jew." Laughter.

Oh, what must a people suffer to deserve our tears? And what must a Hollywood producer achieve to deserve our anger? For I do not really believe that the four hundred citizens of the United States who saw *Once Upon a Honeymoon* with me tonight consider sterilization and goose-stepping conquerors, concentration camps, bombings, and the slaughter of the Jews fit subjects for amusement. And yet we laughed. We laughed because we gathered we were supposed to. Cary Grant lifted his eyebrow and read the line for a laugh. So we laughed —not very willingly, and not very heartily. But we were amused, because Hollywood told us it was funny.

And here, if you like, is my infuriated moral of this intemperate piece. When will the issues of this war become heart and soul a part of our national conscience? When will the war we are fighting to the death mean so much to us that critics will cry "treason!" instead of "trivial" to a film which mocks the causes for which our soldiers die? When will we learn to hate the enemy so profoundly and so deeply that to see him portrayed as a farcical idiot will infuriate us rather than amuse us?

I want to know. I want to know why I didn't get up in that movie house and yell, yell out loud, shout, make a scene. I want to know why I didn't cry out, "Stop laughing! It will happen to us tomorrow—if you laugh."

Oh, I am ashamed. Ashamed deep in my heart. We, who can still laugh at agony, we are only half fighting this war for survival. We are still fat and complacent, we are still ostrich-safe and silly. We haven't learned; we haven't even begun to learn what we're fighting for, and the unspeakable thing we're fighting against.

And the sober, terrible fact is: we must learn. Or we will die.

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JUST AND UNJUST

Two kinds of wars—the distinction made by American writers of the past who disagreed with Cicero. Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, and Lowell in different historical periods.

One crisp November morning in 1845 the fighting Abolitionist minister of West Roxbury, Theodore Parker, dispatched an urgent letter to the historian George Bancroft, who was then serving as Secretary of the Navy in Mr. Polk's cabinet. It was a momentous hour for the country. The rumor had reached Boston that a war with England was impending over the Oregon question. An official declaration of war against Mexico was only months away. This war of aggression was being instigated by the slave power and its administration in Washington. And Parker earnestly implored the Navy Secretary to use his influence for peace. "I will say with Cicero," he wrote, "*that there never was a just war or an unjust peace.* I write to beg of you—if the thought of war, or even *the thought of that thought*, enters into the councils of the government—to consider that posterity, which awards fame or disgrace to men, will damn into deep infamy that government which allows a war to take place in the middle of the nineteenth century."

The emphatic minister underlined Cicero's words, as many an American might have done in the decades since the first world war. But the lofty epigrams of Cicero and the stubborn realities of history are not always in agreement. The life of nations is complicated by the fact that there are just wars *and* unjust wars, just settlements *and* unjust settlements. Indeed, Parker himself was proud that his grandfather, captain of the soldiers at Lexington, had taken the first prisoner in the "war for independence and the rights of man." And only eleven years after his militantly pacifist letter to Bancroft, he wrote to the anti-slavery Sen. John P. Hale that he had been preparing for civil war during the past six months: "I buy no books except for pressing need. Last year I bought $1,500 worth: this year I shall not order $200 worth. I may want money for cannons."

This was not a capricious change of heart. For it is an impressive fact, too little noted, that Parker, like Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, and even the Quaker Whittier, did distinguish between just and unjust wars. Such a distinction was not the result of abstract speculation; in the realm of pure ideas Cicero might have gone unchallenged. The distinction was driven home inexorably by the actual facts of history. The Emerson who wrote Holmes that he could not stomach "the cant of extending the area of liberty by the annexing Texas and Mexico" just as vigorously in the Civil War days attacked "the unseasonable senility of what is called the Peace Party. . . ."

In our own generation many intellectuals have undergone a similar experience. Who can doubt that Randolph Bourne and John Reed would unhesitatingly support our war against the Axis, notwithstanding their firm opposition to the first world war? For these men were not abstract pacifists. Their attitude toward a given war was based on a careful analysis of the specific character of that war. And those of us who, despite our reservations regarding 1917, wholeheartedly support the present war, do so not because we are "militarists" any more than because we are "pacifists." We support this war because we know it to be a morally and historically just war on the victorious outcome of which depends our survival as a free nation.

It is instructive to recall how many writers of Parker's generation, the generation that lived through the Mexican and Civil Wars, were compelled, as time went on, to take a more realistic and mature view of war. Lowell, for example, had written the first series of *The Biglow Papers* to stir up resistance to the Mexican campaign; but in the course of his attack on a war for the expansion of slave territory, he thundered against all wars. In 1846 he made Hosea Biglow say:

Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat;

I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,
It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

During the Civil War, however, Lowell wrote a second Biglow series in support of a fight which he considered just. As editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* he proclaimed again and again that "The southern army will be fighting for Jefferson Davis, or at most for the liberty of self-misgovernment, while we go forth for the defense of principles which alone make government august and civil liberties possible."

Similarly Thoreau's famous essay on "Civil Disobedience" was written while the Mexican War was in progress, and its full meaning can scarcely be grasped unless we read it in the historical context of that war. Thoreau regarded "the present Mexican War" as "the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool. . . . When a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize." As everyone knows, Thoreau went to jail in defense of this conviction. But his support of the Civil War was as firm as his opposition to the Mexican War. Thoreau vigorously defended John Brown in a memorable address. If he had any quarrel with the war, it was that the administration was not prosecuting it with sufficient firmness. In his Journals, Bronson Alcott observed that Thoreau, already a dying man at the end of 1861, "does not conceal his impatience with the slowness of the present Administration and its disregard of honor and justice to the free sentiment of the North."

This impatience for an Emancipation Proclamation was shared by Whittier. The poet had been one of the secretaries of the Anti-Texas Convention of 1845. The Mexican War had disturbed him so deeply that he was ready to propose *northern* secession. A conscientious Quaker, Whittier

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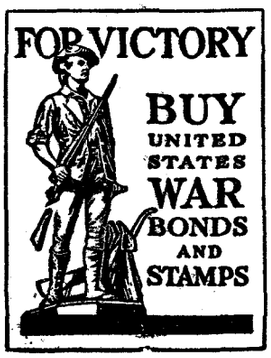

had hoped, before the attack on Fort Sumter, that bloodshed could be avoided. But the evidence overwhelmingly contradicts the conventional view that Whittier was lukewarm toward the Civil War. On June 18, 1861, he addressed a circular to members of the Society of Friends in which he pleaded: "Steadily and faithfully maintaining our testimony against war, we owe it to the cause of truth, to show that exalted heroism and generous self-sacrifice are not incompatible with our pacific principles." It is true that Whittier's Quaker principles would not permit him to endorse bearing of arms; nevertheless, he actively supported the cause of Union victory. Rejoicing, in his "Astraea at the Capitol," at the abolition of slavery in Washington, he wrote that the form in which emancipation had come was "Not as we hoped," but that God lays with wiser hand than man's the cornerstones of Liberty; "Yea, I will rejoice." And his emancipation hymn, sung by the Hutchinson family in army camps, was an inspiring call to action:

We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation;
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.

The example of Emerson is equally impressive. He was, of course, far more at home in peaceful Concord than in the revolutionary Paris which he visited in 1848. It is characteristic that he should preface a passionate denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law with an apology for deserting his study in order to speak from the public platform. But "The last year has forced us all into politics, and made it a paramount duty to seek what it is often a duty to shun. We do not breathe well. There is infamy in the air." This infamy he felt in the Mexican War, which he opposed as a member of the Middlesex County Anti-Texas Convention. And he fully supported the Civil War to destroy the same infamy: ". . . those states [of the South] have shown every year a more hostile and aggressive temper, until the instinct of self-preservation forced us into war. And the aim of the war on our part is indicated by the aim of the President's Proclamation, namely, to break up the false combination of southern society, to destroy the piratic feature in it which makes it our enemy only as it is the enemy of the human race, and so allow its reconstruction on a just and healthful basis."

It would be easy to multiply examples. One recalls that before the Mexican War was one year old, Whitman lost the editorship of the Brooklyn *Eagle* for advocating free-soil in US territories; and one recalls, by contrast, such a military challenge as "Beat! Beat! Drums!" which like Whittier's "The Summons" and Bryant's "Our Country's Call" boosted public morale after the defeat at Bull Run. Whitman's "Eighteen Sixty-One" was a manifesto for poets who had embraved a just war:

Arm'd year—year of the struggle,
No dainty rhymes or sentimental love verses for you terrible year,
Not you as some pale poetling seated at a desk lisping cadenzas piano,
But as a strong man erect, clothed in blue clothes, advancing, carrying a rifle on your shoulder,
With well-gristled body and sunburnt face and hands, with a knife in the belt at your side. . . .

But perhaps the most interesting example of all is Samuel Gridley Howe, whose significance as an American symbol has been insufficiently appreciated. Howe's career began with active support of a war for national liberation. After his graduation from Harvard Medical School in 1824, he went to Greece, and from 1827 to 1830 he was surgeon of the Greek fleet in the war against Ottoman domination. He returned to Boston with Byron's helmet and a *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution.* But in the summer of 1846 we find him opposing the Mexican War, issuing a call for a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall where the aged John Quincy Adams presided and where Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Parker spoke. Dr. Howe gave the main address, and Emerson sent friendly greetings from Concord. In the Civil War, however, Dr. Howe, like his wife Julia Ward, enthusiastically supported all-out military action; and his services in the Sanitary Commission, where he worked with Dorothea Dix, helped save countless of our troops.

Engaged as we are in prosecuting a just war, it is worth recalling that these eminent writers of our past utterly rejected the treacherous illusion that "there never was a just war or an unjust peace." In their own generation they had occasion to fight demoralization by maintaining a clear distinction between a war of aggression and a war of national survival and freedom. In their own generation they enlisted their glowing talents and fought through to a victorious conclusion.

Books In Review

Two War Novels

THE GAUNT WOMAN, *by Edmund Gilligan. Scribner's. $2.50.*

CALL TO BATTLE, *by Roderick Lull. Doubleday Doran, $2.50.*

CURRENT war novels, if they depend merely on suspense and action for their chief interest, compete at an obvious disadvantage with eye-witness narratives now arriving from the front in such a rich crop.

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In battles for our existence, the photographic truth is for the moment worth more than the most plausible fiction. It follows that the novel, to justify itself, must aim at a higher interest—some subtler penetration into the psychology of battle or some greater realization of the character of the war as its meanings are revealed to the men and women in action.

The Gaunt Woman, by Edmund Gilligan, was not aimed at either of these achievements. An explosive melodrama in which a Gloucester fisherman stalks and finally attacks a U-boat supply ship in the North Atlantic, it is neither better nor worse than the run of slick-paper action stories. Complete with love interest and brogue, it concerns the war simply because the criminals in this case are Nazis.

Call to Battle, by Roderick Lull, on the other hand, is a serious attempt to show how the finest traditions native to our soil are rediscovered by common Americans in the stress of battle. In the novel the Japanese have invaded our northwest coast, and a handful of civilian volunteers are detailed to guard a dam against paratroop attack. In the savage action that follows, the diverse members of a tiny group—a prosperous rancher, a drifting lumberjack, a Jewish refugee from Poland—are drawn together in a new democracy of discipline and sacrifice, each learning something from the other. Only the town's get-rich-quick cynic weakens and turns traitor.

Some over-simple character drawing allowed, the book is tersely written and absorbing in action. Yet the superficial ease with which the real obstacles to American unity are reconciled (the author's philosophy seems to be a sort of nostalgic populism) shows how far our war experience must still mature before its reflection in popular fiction can approach the best work of anti-fascist exiles in depth and understanding.

FRED WYLIE.

Early Railway Strikes

THE PULLMAN STRIKE. The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval, *by Almont Lindsey. University of Chicago Press, $3.75.*

IN THIS scholarly, well-documented book, Professor Lindsey tells the story of one of the greatest strikes in the history of American labor. The author briefly traces, from Civil War years, the forces and events which led to the railroad workers' struggle in 1894. The America of expanding industrial power, of the birth of trade unionism, of the 1893 panic with its 3,000,000 unemployed and the hungry armies of the Commonweal marching on Washington: this was the background against which the bitter struggle at Pullman flared and spread across twenty-seven states and territories of the nation. Some

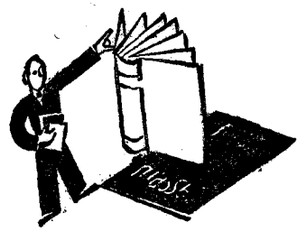
18,000 railroaders stood against the power of the corporations and the legal and military arms of the United States government.

The author, who is professor of history at Mary Washington College, explains in the preface that an earlier study of the model town of Pullman inspired his interest in the larger scope of the strike. The section of his book which deals with the "experiment" is a convincing expose of paternalism in industrial relations. George M. Pullman, father of modern sleepers, had steadily built up his Pullman Palace Car Co., till in 1894 its service practically monopolized the field and covered three-fourths of the country's railroad mileage. The model town (population, 1892: 12,600) was built up around the company works near Chicago. Behind the landscaped yards and Gothic fronts of the tenements, existed a feudal system. The inhabitants worked, breathed, ate, drank, voted Pullman. And the company received its dividends from paternalism; rents, for example, were at least twenty percent higher than in Chicago. In one of his speeches to the Pullman strikers, Debs said, "The paternalism of Pullman is the same as the interest of a slave holder in his human chattels."

DURING the depression of 1893 the Pullman Co. cut wages drastically, but refused to adjust rents which were deducted from pay envelopes. Conditions sent thousands of workers into the newly organized American Railway Union, led by Eugene Debs, and finally precipitated the strike. When it was clear that Pullman would not arbitrate, the union, 150,000 strong, decided on broader action: a boycott of Pullman cars on all railroad lines.

Against the rapidly spreading strike, the roads fought back through their own organization, the General Managers Association; their strategy, to involve the government with pleas for protection against "lawless mobs," and claims of interference with mails and interstate commerce. They found an able ally in Richard Olney, US Attorney General, who saw to it that injunctions were issued against the strikers under a new interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Nor did President Cleveland hesitate to call out federal troops to "protect" the railroads.

The pattern is familiar. Through this account of the strike and the trials of Debs and other union leaders, Professor Lindsey shows how anti-labor weapons were created and legal precedents set which were wiped out only after long years of struggle on the part of labor. The broadest aspect of the



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struggle touched on the question of corporation control in government.

The strike was broken and the American Railway Union collapsed, but, as the author points out, "from that crisis, labor gained rich experience and learned valuable lessons." Debs himself was more convinced than ever that labor's hope lay in unity and political action.

Professor Lindsey has leaned over backward to present an unbiased picture of events, and he succeeds in letting the facts speak for themselves, produce their own inescapable conclusions. No attempt seems to have been made to give a graphic or vivid picture, but the drama of the struggle itself comes through despite the rather stilted and at times repetitive writing.

N. E. CABOT.

Phantom Refugees

THE CONSPIRATORS, *by Frederic Prokosch. Harper. $2.50.*

MR. PROKOSCH has spent two years in wartime Lisbon. In his novel the city's archaic loveliness is disturbed by the tides of war, which have washed the most fortunate refugees of Europe into this last haven of safety on the Continent. The author strongly feels the physical sense of this contrast. Pictorially he gives us a composition wrought from the opposition between passive beauty centuries old and the violent agitations of the present.

But if Mr. Prokosch intended to write a profound study of the "contemporary European disorder," he has failed. This is not a spy story, yet the plot in essence is a crude adaptation of the international-agents-at-play formula. You may get some fun trying to discover who's outguessing whom in *The Conspirators*, but the author has outguessed everyone, because it's obvious he doesn't give a hang for the rules of the spy story.

If there had been anything more than a vague recollection of pre-war Hitchcock in Mr. Prokosch's espionage, there might have been something more than a faint perfume of the Axis. Schmidt, Kugelman, von Mohr are as physically startling as the "types" which have gravitated to Hollywood to pick up parts in B spy-shockers; and the decayed "soul" of von Mohr is anatomized for us. However, if you want a studied portrait of degeneration, you must turn to Quintinilla, the "brains" of the anti-Nazi conspiratorial coterie, a man devoted to this kind of work because of his sense of "inner devastation."

Mr. Prokosch gives his little band of conspirators an anti-Nazi coloration that seems merely coincidental. His characters seem to be refugees by profession, touristic intellectuals, the "evening gown" fringe, one might say, of social movement. The best novels of the war have come out of the struggles of underground Europe, out of the inferno of suffering under the brown plague. But contrast George Heisler of *The Seventh Cross* after his escape from Westhofen with this book's Vincent Van der Lyn after he walks out of his confinement in an unnamed prison in Lisbon. Our "hero" spends a week-end at the beach, locked in struggle with himself over the meaning of an act of violence which he is about to perform. Unseen agents of his conspiratorial group, by some obscure magic, have made possible his escape. What kind of a group is this which can so happily arrange, for the convenience of one of its members, the luxury of a soul-searching excursion into murder?

Vincent's introspection takes over the center of interest in the latter part of the novel. The book enters its transcendent phase, where reality drops away, etc. Mr. Prokosch has tackled the old chestnut—how does it feel to contemplate murder? Vincent finally reaches a mystical synthesis for motive and deed. Before that, the frequent interpenetrations of the tremors of nature and his moods and movements have tipped us off to the fact that we are now on the "timeless" plane, where Lisbon, the battlefields of Europe, the most decisive struggle of our century are less real than the phantoms which spring out of men's minds when they stare out of a window at the somber shadings of night.

Vincent, it is true, touches truth in the course of his reflections when he stumbles on a few "simple ideas." "Only when he is willing to die for something greater than himself can he become a real man, can he become a hero . . . a part of history." But Vincent is incapable of gauging his behavior by simple tests. And his last thought after he kills is: "By a single brutal act I have cut myself from the life of man; yet in this very act, I have united myself to humanity." Has any meaning about the necessity of individual acts against a fascist enemy been absorbed into this mystical antithesis? Mr. Prokosch may think so, but in the context of his character; it is no more than a personal transport. Vincent Van der Lyn is a simple young man with curly hair; his endowment with prophetic gifts has the divinity (the unreality) of an act of special creation. And the actual result of his long plunge into the infinite is lugged in as a special providence.

One is finally left with the pictures Mr. Prokosch so expertly creates—in whole chapters or in brief paragraphs. They can

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be isolated from everything else I have mentioned. That is fortunate if you feel that Mr. Prokosch is a somewhat misled writer of travel impressions—unfortunate if you take this book as a novel. For, while this kind of picture-making with the devices of poetry can be a great resource for a novelist, it can never be more than accessory to, and can never replace, a deeply felt human subject. ALAN BENOIT.

Imaginative Biography

JULES VERNE, *by George H. Waltz Jr. Holt. $2.50.*

JULES VERNE lived in the era of the spinning jenny and the tractor, when men had already made attempts to fly by balloon and Fulton's Folly had proved successful. The hieroglyphics of alchemy had given way to the study of reactions and elements. Newtonian mechanics had been accepted theoretically and practically, and astronomy was no longer used only for fortune-telling. With the new science and industrialization, Verne created new locales in the air, under water, and in the earth. Though not a great scientist, his sixty-five volumes of science-fiction, *"Voyages Extraordinaires,"* are filled with the most precise mathematical and scientific knowledge of the nineteenth century. His calculations involving velocities, ship construction, and star and interplanetary distances were always made in consultation with the savants of France or on the basis of treatises he found at the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Verne was no great writer; he complained that "the greatest regret of my life is that I have never taken my place in French literature." His many attempts at playwrighting were failures, but he found a successful formula for writing. He took some travelers, a new locale, and some exact science to create and clothe the dreams of men. The adventures of Captain Nemo, in *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, were "responsible for my descent into the ocean in a submersible," wrote Simon Lake, inventor of the first successful submarine. The glass floor of the undersea craft *Nautilus* gave William Beebe inspiration for the bathysphere. And the mad adventures of Phileas Fogg in *Around the World in Eighty Days* were the challenge to the Post-Gatty and Howard Hughes flights around the globe in eight days.

This book really becomes the biography of an imagination when the author discusses Verne's influence on other men in the development of plastics, television, rockets, and color photography. Unfortunately too brief a chapter is devoted to this phase of the science-fictioneer. The reader will get little of the age of Verne, but a complete picture of the man and his works.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

ART AS A WEAPON

Some hundred painters and sculptors demonstrate that "This Is Our War," in the current exhibition by the Artists League of America. Reviewed by Mayer Symason.

IT SHOULD be obvious to anyone concerned with the arts that the American artist today faces a grave challenge. Our country stripping for action seems to have tossed art aside as a useless encumbrance which has no place in a national crisis. The Soviet Union, even while fighting a relentless war for survival against a powerful and inhuman enemy which has taxed it to the utmost, has mobilized culture and kept its artists in all fields at their posts, working at the things they can do best. In the United States, on the other hand, the artist is in the difficult position of convincing his government and the people that he has something to contribute to winning the war. The government, on its side, is still uncertain of the value of culture as a weapon. It has even called a halt to most of the commissioned mural projects out of fear that some of our "enlightened" legislators might raise a demagogic hue and cry against "waste." And while accepting art in some cases, certain governmental agencies are still harboring the delusion that the four freedoms are merely a product to be sold like toothpaste or breakfast cereals.

THE exhibition of the Artists League of America titled "This Is Our War," showing at the Wildenstein Galleries, is an organized and outspoken argument in the growing campaign for the recognition of art as a weapon in the struggle for freedom. It should be understood at the outset that the difficulties facing the artist in his efforts to solve the problems of a war art hark back to certain fundamental dislocations in our cultural life. We are all aware that art even in peace was not allowed more than a limited social function. Whether we like it or not, we can by no stretch of the imagination say that art, in our society, has been or is an integral part of our existence. However, this is not the place to review the reasons for such dislocations; we can only note the fact. But recognizing this fundamental difficulty, I feel, as a critic, a great responsibility and reticence in passing summary judgment on some 100 artists who are attempting with all sincerity to reorientate themselves to the exigencies of war. I cannot help but feel that their effort is more important than any possible success or failure. We should acclaim the fact that our artists, in spite of discouragement and official neglect, still feel strongly enough to insist that "This Is Our War."

If the artists in this exhibit have as a group failed to create, virtually overnight, a completely satisfactory war art—which we cannot expect at this point—there are still signs that many of them have already achieved a solution and, given time and support, will produce an art worthy of our struggle for freedom.

The works in the exhibition deal with all phases of the war, soldiers in action, workers in production, the civilian at home, the total effect of war on the people. The heroic and aggressive spirit finds expression in a number of outstanding examples. Both Nat Werner and Robert Fels have found in the singing soldier a symbol of the victorious Red Army—the former in his stirring and bouyant group, "You could tell they are Russian soldiers—they sang as they marched," and the latter in his heroic and indomitable "Stalingrad." Elizabeth Olds' "Winter Soldiers" is a fine example of an artist's ability to visualize the actual scene of conflict. It is not surprising that these last three works dealing with the Red Army are among the most successful, for the inspiration of our Soviet ally's magnificent fight has fired the artist's imagination.

Sylvia Wald has honored the Negro in "The Hero," a fine tribute to the courage of a Negro seaman. Robert Gwathmey's beautifully painted "Unfinished Business" is a trenchant political tract in which the Negro people, recognizing the injustices of inequality, still are ready to offer their lives in the greater fight for world freedom. Charles Keller's silk screen print "Fighter for Democracy" is still another aspect, touching and sympathetic, of Negro participation in the war.

TRUE, the exhibition as a whole suffers from a number of weaknesses. In the first place, the artists, confronted with a project in which they sincerely believed, were obviously rushed for time—time not only to produce, which in itself would be no great obstacle, but time to think, to find in themselves some artistic equivalent for their social and political understanding. As a result some artists have presented works far below their usual standards. Or others, unable to meet either the challenge of the moment or the inexorability of the deadline, simply relied upon titles to carry their message.

More serious than such weaknesses is the basically negative attitude permeating so much of the work, an attitude that must be overcome before we can hope for the emergence of an effective war art. Perhaps because of the delay in seizing the offensive—militarily and on the home front—art has unconsciously reflected a note of pessimism toward the conflict. One may well ask: where are the symbols of victory, where are the tales of courage, where are the paeans to heroism? Apparently Hitler's barbaric destruction of life and property looms like some gigantic spectre blotting out the light of hope. Trained too long in the pessimism of the last decade, our artists still play on the single string of compassion when what we need is a full-voiced hymn of hate for the Nazi hangmen. Fortitude in the face of adversity must now give way to an unquenchable and aggressive faith in victory. Let us do more than cry over the misery of refugees, not because we have lost

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sympathy with their suffering but because only action and not tears will save them. Just as we need a second front as a military necessity, we need an optimistic and aggressive art as an artistic necessity.

ARTISTS who have taken production as a theme have in many cases failed to go beyond the simple visual representation of productive activity. To be effective this theme must be raised to the level of inspiration. Production as usual in art is, like production as usual in industry, not enough. The sense of urgency, of titanic, superhuman effort, must somehow be conveyed. Aaron Goodelman's "Man and Machine," although done several years ago, manages—perhaps because it was originally a glorification of production—to impart a feeling of power and optimism. One of the most original conceptions is "The Great Coat," by James Turnbull, which in its young pride and simple humor catches the spirit of confidence. It helps to prove that a war picture need not be a propagandistic cliche, that mangled children and flaming guns are not inevitable as subject matter. The realm of war art is as wide and varied as the artists' experience and understanding, as inclusive as life itself, as deep as the human spirit; for war art is nothing more or less than art responsive to the social crisis of war.

MAYER SYMASON.

Goebbels' Missing Link

NO IDEA of Herr Doktor Goebbels has ever been too grotesque for our American fascists to ape. Two words from the wizened little monkey in Berlin, and Martin Dies starts cutting monkeyshines in Congress. It would appear that Dr. Goebbels has imitators in Hollywood as well; for his racist propaganda, in its filthiest form, is expressed in a picture planned by Universal Studios.

Hollywood's treatment of the Negro has usually been ill-informed and ill-natured to an outrageous extent. *Captive Wild Woman*, however, out-Herods Herod. Among the more brutal and unprincipled exponents of southern lynch law there used to be a theory that the Negroes were the mythical Missing Link. Possible only to minds of the ultimate degree of illiteracy, this idea was used as a sort of warped justification of the bestialities inflicted upon helpless Negroes. But it was too grotesque to survive long except among the most virulent poll taxers.

It is a shock, therefore, to discover that Universal studios is planning to resurrect the Missing Link idea, in conformance with Nazi racial theories by which only that non-existent animal, the Aryan, is quite human. In *Captive Wild Woman*, apparently a horror quickie of even more incoherence than usual, the inevitable Mad Doctor decides to turn a female gorilla into a human being. By itself this would be merely silly; but someone had the idea of making that human being into a Negro girl! Lest you should conceivably miss Dr. Goebbels' point, the final script leads this girl up to a mirror while she is giving way to her "lower emotions"—namely, jealousy. As the emotions get lower, her skin grows darker, until she relapses through stages of subhumanity into the gorilla again!

Sheer illiteracy, though it explains some Hollywood phenomena, can hardly be the sole cause of this piece of fascist propaganda. It is tempting to suggest that the gentlemen responsible, in trying to reduce human beings to the ape level, were looking for company in their own misery; but it is more to the point to ask who gave them their orders? And it is still more to the point to see that those orders are countermanded by the American people. This film has not yet been released, has not even been publicized; its makers no doubt intend to slip it over quietly as a routine horror melodrama. They can be stopped.

Protest to the OWI as well as to Universal Studios should be effective in throttling Dr. Goebbels' apes. Meanwhile, one might suggest to the gentlemen responsible for *Captive Wild Woman* that, if they must hunt for a Missing Link, they might try to find one between themselves and decent humanity.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

"Harriet"

Helen Hayes as one of history's foremost ladies.

A RAPIDLY convalescing Broadway has given us two fine historical dramas within a few weeks of each other. We have had a timely and effective portrait of Jefferson in Sidney Kingsley's *The Patriots*. And now Helen Hayes has brought Harriet Beecher Stowe back to life—where she belongs—in the Gilbert Miller production of Florence Ryerson's and Colin Clements' *Harriet*, which is drawing crowds of hit proportions to the Henry Miller Theater.

This is abundance and calls for a round of drinks. For neither of these plays is a hasty exit out of the present or a theatrical clotheshorse or a veiled occasion for insulting some of our more useful ancestors. Far from it. Both *The Patriots* and *Harriet* have the fighting spirit of this war in them. Both do considerable justice to the truths of our tradition. Both offer an invigorating evening at the theater.

Harriet takes its heroine from the Cincinnati days in the 1830's through the big war which Lincoln said this little lady had made. This is a long stretch and the transitions creak on occasion. But the play does suggest the basic drama of Mrs. Stowe's life: the conflict between her stay-at-home-in-peace impulse and her compelling need to fight the monster of slavery. This conflict is projected against the background of the wondrous and frequently appalling Beecher clan under the patriarchate of philoprogenitive Lyman. Harriet emerges as a delightfully saucy lady who saw through brother Henry Ward's posturing, who could tactfully handle the more crotchety moods of sister Catherine, and who could balance husband Calvin's professorial remoteness with humor and common sense.

With a houseful of her own children, worried by poverty, harassed by anti-abolitionist rioters from Kentucky, Harriet was forced to postpone the literary career on which she had set her mind. Harriet was glad to move North, to security. But the illusion that she could avoid conflict is shattered in the most dramatic scene of the play. After the slave system entered her own home in Brunswick, Me., to manacle and drag back a fugitive Negro woman, the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* could no longer be postponed. Harriet hoped that the book would avoid a war by showing Southerners the errors of their ways; the book, based on truth, had the effect of infuriating the slaveholders and of rousing the northern conscience. In the Civil War years Harriet was a powerful fighter, rejecting compromise and illusory comfort. The final speech of the play is as much a call to us as to those who fought for freedom nearly a century ago.

The stage is of course dominated by Helen Hayes, whose energy and charm tend to obscure the other roles while covering up some of the play's weaknesses. The main weakness of *Harriet*, dramatically and historically, is that it does not quite grasp the intellectual force of Mrs. Stowe, particularly during the Civil War, when in her newspaper column she was a leading fighter for an Emancipation Proclamation. Her positive qualities are suggested, but they are always cut, one feels, to a conventional audience expectation. This conventionality in the writing is particularly glaring in the treatment of Calvin Stowe, who becomes a stereotyped absent-

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minded professor, and of Harriet's three daughters, whose innocent rivalry over the good-looking boy down the street runs dangerously close to operetta tradition.

At the same time the play captures the essential spirit of Harriet Stowe's fight for freedom. The scene in which she is working on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, completely absorbed in her vision despite a dozen household distractions, is very real and moving. The portrait of the Beechers is at once amusing and sympathetic. Harriet's relation to her children is warmly described. The play succeeds in humanizing a figure who had become largely a name and a legend to most Americans.

The large cast that supports Miss Hayes in her ebullient performance includes Jane Seymour, who gets both the rebel and the old maid in Catherine Beecher; Sydney Smith, who suggests the oratorical in Henry Ward Beecher; Rhys Williams, who is faithfully disciplined in his rather sorry part as Calvin.

Expertly staged by Elia Kazan, *Harriet* is an interesting example of a play in which certain elements of conventional Broadway drama, which might in other days have produced a successfully inconsequential work, have been subordinated to a more mature consciousness reflecting the war. These elements remain, and they keep the play back at times. But the total impression, heightened by Miss Hayes, is of a sincere and inspiriting and dramatic discovery that our fight today has a courageous tradition behind it. The war has moved into this play and made it not only successful but genuinely consequential.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

False History

A film about the life and times of young Mr. Pitt.

THERE is only one thing wrong with *Young Mr. Pitt;* it is a lie. A pretty and well-intentioned lie, perhaps. Beautifully directed and composed, the film has the added distinction of restraint and good taste. As comment on the present war, moreover, *Young Mr. Pitt* points the very necessary moral that you can't lick a man without fighting him; in other words, that the sooner we have a second front, the better. Were it honest fiction instead of false history, the film would be magnificent.

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deed, the film is a sort of historical documentary. But its chief characters are portrayed with such vigor and humanity as to prevent *Young Mr. Pitt* from turning into the stilted pageantry we are used to in historical films. Robert Donat, in the title role, gives the sort of performance he can always deliver when not asked to be glamorous—subtle and unemphatic, with latent emotional intensity. Robert Morley does well by Charles James Fox, Pitt's great adversary, and there is a portrayal of George III for which author, actor, and director alike are to be commended. Not only is that king displayed in all his pathetic absurdity; but also—astonishing in a British-made film—the fanfare of kingship itself is made ridiculous.

Carol Reed, one of England's leading young directors, has coordinated surveys of the condition of England, glimpses of the Continent and the French Revolution, touches of period atmosphere, and Pitt's own story, into a single swift narrative. The ominous repeated flashes of Napoleon growing up are particularly striking and suggestive; they build up a waiting tension that explodes in the Napoleonic Wars. The temptations of the spectacular are avoided, moreover; no time is wasted on battles and sea fights of which we already know the outcome. Even Trafalgar takes place off-screen. As for Pitt's own life story, it is handled with dignity and without operatic heroics. A wistful, abortive love affair is managed without overt eroticism or sentimentality, appealing neither to the leer nor to the tear. The fact that Pitt literally lived on wine—he was never drunk but never sober—is neither concealed nor alibied; his ever-present wineglass, treated with this frankness, has a melancholy gallantry which arouses sympathy. Compare *Tennessee Johnson*, where the unlovable Johnson's drunkenness was made all the more unattractive by a hypocritical and unconvincing explanation!

In superficial historical detail *Young Mr. Pitt* is lovingly accurate; the appearance, the mannerisms, the conversation of such figures as Talleyrand and Fox are reproduced to perfection. The film's Parliamentarians are even allowed to make on the screen the speeches they made in history, instead of having the script writers invent new ones. It would be an unusual screen writer who could match the wit of Fox and Sheridan, of Talleyrand and Pitt; fortunately, the authors of *Young Mr. Pitt* do not try.

But, but! the accuracy stops with superficialities. Point by point, Pitt's war is equated with Churchill's. And, point by point, the French Revolution as well as the early Napoleon is entirely misrepresented.

There is no possible doubt as to Pitt's true role in history. Lord Macaulay was anything but a radical; he was inclined to be as charitable as possible; yet even Macaulay spoke of Pitt as "the spoiled child of Parliament' and described the "drivelling incompetence" of his military administration, the brutal and unconstitutional oppression he introduced at home, and his pathetic failure to understand the true significance of the French Revolution. Pitt's personal character was tragic and appealing enough—the infant prodigy, cut off by shyness and defensive arrogance from almost all human relationships, struggling with a sickly body all his life and dying worn out at an age when most men are in their prime. Nevertheless, to the progressives of all Europe, Pitt represented reaction as no other man. With the sinister Castlereagh as his War Minister, he played exactly the role of insransigent spider spinning his web that was later to be played by Metternich.

Seeing in the French Revolution not only the people's struggle for freedom but also a threat, by way of the Mediterranean, to England's new imperialism in India, Pitt fought it by brutal repression at home and by unscrupulous conspiracy in Europe. He deluded himself that the young Republic was weak, and bought his wars, not fought them. In his time—he died in 1806—the Republic of France was the hope of Europe, and Napoleon had not yet taken the turn which made him the representative of bourgeois imperialism in France. The armies of France came to Germany and Italy as quite genuine liberators of the people; nor did France make war except in self-defense against the iron ring of her reactionary enemies.

All this the film distorts, by equating the French Revolution with Hitler's counter-revolution and Napoleon with Hitler. By a complete reversal of fact, Pitt and his England are made champions of freedom, and the flashes of French scenes suggest the brutality and unscrupulousness peculiar to Nazism. Pitt's military strategy is similarly exalted. There was a great deal of Colonel Blimpery in his appointment of his inept brother to the Admiralty; he was the apostle of do-nothing, the great conniver who bribed other nations to fight his wars for him. And his fatuous reliance on sea power escaped disaster only because of an accident named Horatio Nelson.

To represent Pitt's unscrupulous imperialism as the equivalent of this people's war; to malign the French Revolution and the consequent emancipation of oppressed European countries as Nazi aggression; in short, to miseducate the people about the past, is to miseducate them about the present. *Young Mr. Pitt* has a great deal of intelligence and skill; yet it can only lead to misunderstanding and confusion, to disunity of nations and disintegration of morale, with its glorification as apostles of progress of just those very elements in England which today provide the appeasers and the upper class saboteurs.

Joy Davidman.

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